

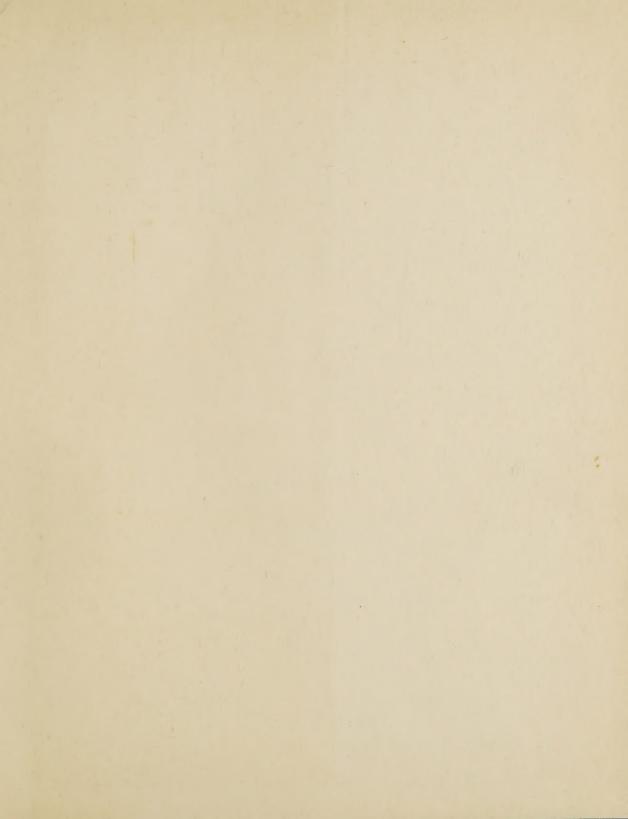
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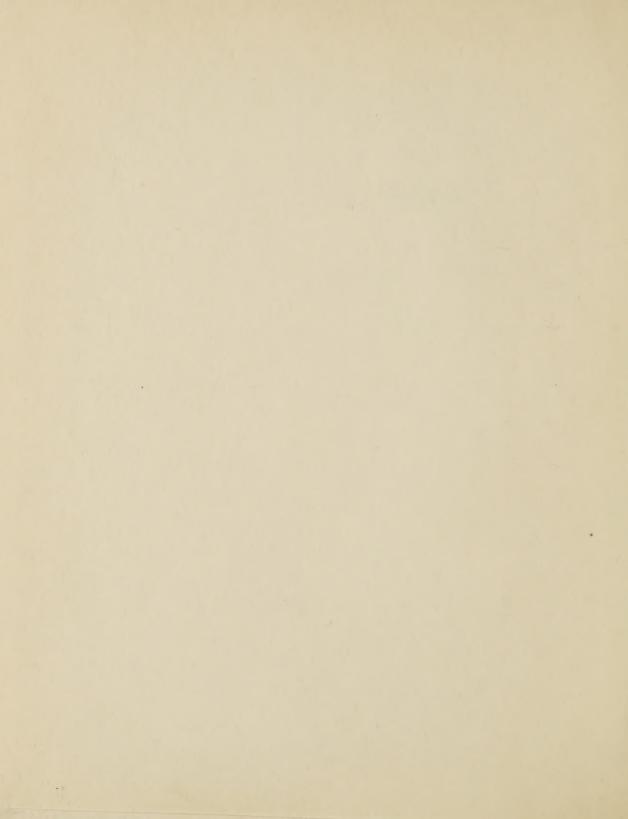


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PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

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ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

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The Parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard. Epitaph of Paul Eber by Lucas Cranach the Younger in the City Church of Wittenberg. Detail (Photo: K. G. Beyer)

Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, Missouri Concordia Publishing House, Ltd., London, E.C. 1 With Luther's Ninety-five Theses the Reformation movement, already a long time abuilding, began like a spiritual tidal wave to break through the medieval ecclesiastical dikes. Wittenberg was the city whence the waves rolled over Europe. Zurich and Geneva were the other centers, and from them Zwingli's and Calvin's influence gripped Europe anew or offered a helping hand in the struggle waged by the Reformation against the opposing forces of both church and state.

Special spheres of influence emanating from Wittenberg and Geneva were gradually developing in Europe, but always in a reciprocal manner that has led to an increasingly extensive ecumenical movement in our century. Virtually all churches standing on the foundation of Reformation Christianity have come into this movement in spite of the different forms of expression the faith received in the countries of the various continents. After

four centuries the pertinence of the Reformation was taken seriously even by Vatican Council II of the Roman Church, so that the unity of the church of the Third Article of the Creed, now on a new plane, may be not only hoped for but can also be perceived and experienced.

Unity is only possible in spite of diversity if we become aware of the forces and forms that have grown from the same root of the Reformation. The contributions of the several authors, who treat the specific Reformation history of European countries, are to be read as single parts of a mosaic. The illustrations are offered as particularly vivid historical documents to support this view.

While devoting ourselves to a time long past, we nevertheless recognize the abiding relevance of the Reformation as an example and even as an encouragement for contemporary Christians.

Wittenberg, Luther Museum

OSKAR THULIN

A history of the European Reformation appearing on the 450th anniversary of the posting of the Wittenberg theses cannot be limited to a presentation of the evangelical spirit and faith, nor can it interpret the Reformation in the European countries as only an outgrowth of the Wittenberg movement. Our sober view of the history of the Reformation period prevents this. We know that also political, economic, cultural, psychological, and other factors played their part in the resolution of questions of faith. To this degree that the differing parties of the various European countries cooperated, the Reformation took a course of its own. To illustrate this alongside the presentation of facts perhaps not readily available to all is the purpose of the contributions in this book. Their diversity was therefore caused by the nature of the subject itself. That the large number of collaborators also creates problems is self-evident. It was therefore not possible to establish completely uniform standards. At least the style of the depiction, though obviously bound to the situation at hand but warranted by it, may increase the appeal of the book.

Because of the required brevity of presentation, completeness could not be achieved. And only the

leading European countries in their present dimensions were taken into account. More distant areas that would have merited a separate presentation of their special Reformation history could only be included in the story of the countries chosen. In the individual contributions stress is laid on the presentation of the characteristic features. Much that is found in close proximity to the points of emphasis had to be left out - occasionally with pain to the authors. In the final analysis a book of facts can do no more than incite the reader to deal with the subject in greater depth. In view of the diversity of the contributions the time limits are not altogether uniform. By and large the Reformation period was equated with the 16th century. Occasionally this period had to be extended.

In spite of all the differences in the Reformation history of Europe a surprising amount of interplay is apparent both between the non-German countries and between them and Germany. Europe constituted one entity. The same applies also to Christendom as a whole. Although Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, and other Christian groups were at that time in battle formation, it is through a discussion of the issues that they ultimately were led to clarity and illumination.

Leipzig

INGETRAUT LUDOLPHY

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GERMANY

Three German cities could with some justification claim the title of fountainhead and birthplace of the German Reformation - Erfurt, Eisenach, and Wittenberg. Luther pursued his studies in Erfurt and there became a theologian. Repeated efforts have been made to express Luther's significance by means of a formula. People have frequently placed at the head of the list his services to the German nation, to the unification of the German people, especially his important contributions toward the development of a German literary language. In the days of the Enlightenment his importance in the conquest of medieval superstition and narrow-mindedness and in the liberation from the chains of spiritual guardianship was rated as Luther's real contribution.

There is certainly some truth in all of these suggestions, but they do not touch the vital point. For Luther the decisive issue first and last had to do with God. For him the question about God was immeasurably more important than all other questions. That man lives before the eyes of God, that he has to live in the expectation of hearing God the Judge speak to him, that a vital consideration for him has to do with being justified before God the Judge - these were the basic truths for Luther. The real question of life was how he might find a gracious God, whether by means of a pious and duty-conscious life, by means of his own merit and accomplishment, or only by means of a verdict of grace on the part of God, one that would of course lay on him the obligation of

gratitude. All the questions about sin and grace that were to Luther so unbounded in importance had their origin in medieval theology, and at Erfurt they became for him questions of decision. The solutions furnished by medieval theology, an inheritance from Aristotelian philosophy it still dragged along, speaking of "habitual grace" bestowed by the sacrament, challenged Luther to come forward with the strongest opposition. The basic question of modern Luther research is to what extent Luther was captive to medieval theology and how and to what extent he overcame it and pointed to new pathways. Unfortunately Luther's inner struggles, usually referred to as the monastery experiences, cannot be dated precisely. It is fairly certain that they began already in Erfurt. For Luther's inner development Erfurt was without doubt of the greatest importance.

Luther spent some of his schooltime in Eisenach, but this certainly does not give the city a right to a preeminent claim on him. But the great scope of his influence Luther achieved through his translation of the New Testament, which he completed there in two and a half months upon being withdrawn from public life through the intervention of Frederick the Wise after the proceedings at the Diet of Worms (April 1521). Without the German New Testament (first printed in September 1522 and called "September Testament"), later enlarged to include the whole Bible in German (1534, with an important revision in 1546), a German Reformation would never have materi-

alized. The Reformation was uniquely a Bible movement, and it does therefore make good sense to associate it with Eisenach, the place where the great stroke of good fortune took place that the Holy Scriptures were translated into a language the "common man" understood and subsequently used.

But in spite of the important roles of Erfurt and Eisenach, Wittenberg eclipses all other Luther places, especially those we pass through like mere way stations as we retrace the path of Luther's life, which curiously leads from Eisleben back to Eisleben. The Luther family comes from the southern section of the Thuringian Forest, from Möhra, about 12 miles from Eisenach. Hans Luther, Martin's father, was the oldest son, but not the heir, of a farmer. Since the youngest son inherited the farm, the older sons turned elsewhere to find a living. A possible opportunity was offered in mining, a business that began to flourish toward the end of the Middle Ages. Hans Luther and his wife Margarete (nee Lindemann) did not settle in Eisleben, where Martin was born Nov. 10, 1483, and on the following day baptized and named after the saint of the day, but they moved to nearby Mansfeld. Beginning as an ordinary miner there, Hans Luther worked his way up to managing a small business of his own. As Viertelmeister, in modern circumstances "ward councilor," he belonged to the small-town aristocracy, though perhaps not to its upper class. Traces of the peasant way of life were still observable also in Martin Luther, and yet he was more the city and burgher type. Characteristic of the selfconsciousness of the social class to which Father Luther now belonged was the desire to give his sons an education and thus make social advance possible for them. Accordingly after attendance in the city school of Mansfeld, young Luther was sent to the Latin School of Magdeburg, where he remained only one year, and then to Eisenach to attend the school of St. George's Church. He was already 18 when he moved on to the University of Erfurt in 1501.

It was not at all the father's intention that Luther should study theology there. It would have been impossible to begin with theology in any case. No

matter what a person's later choice of studies might be, everyone first took basic courses in the socalled arts school, the seven liberal arts divided between trivium (grammar, logic, and rhetoric) and quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy). At the conclusion of these studies the bachelor's and master's degrees were granted in that order. The master's degree qualified a person for teaching in the arts school while he pursued advanced studies in a graduate division. After graduation from the arts school Luther no doubt matriculated in law because of his father's wish to see Martin become an honored member of a city administration or perhaps even a privy councilor at the court of royalty. Luther never got beyond the barest beginnings of this program. The big turning point in Luther's life came with his sudden entry into a mendicant monastery at Erfurt, the so-called Black Cloister of the Hermits of Augustine, who wore a black cowl. This monastery at Erfurt belonged to the strict ("Observantine") branch of the order headed in Germany by Johannes von Staupitz. This branch was strict both in its punctilious obedien e to the rule of the order and in the scholarly work it produced. The incident that moved Luther to enter the monastery July 17, 1505, is well known. In a heavy thunderstorm near the village of Stotternheim he made a vow to St. Anna, the special saint of miners, that he would enter a cloister. What could have been the reason for this resolve? Certainly not utilitarian considerations such as prospects of comfortable facilities for study. Was it fear of death prompted by the decease of acquaintances or by a close call of his own? It seems likely that the fear that God's wrath might at any moment strike him was already growing within him.

Luther's monastery experiences referred to above began very soon or were already in progress. In 1507 Luther was ordained to the priesthood. This presupposed only certain pretheological studies; the real theological program was not due until now. A distinct branch of scholastic theology, nominalism, or Occamism, was at this time dominant at Erfurt, especially in the arts faculty. As a budding Occamist Luther had learned to know the terrifying majesty of God, and this had perhaps



Title page of a part of the Old Testament. Wittenberg, 1524 (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)

helped to give rise to his struggles. That it should be relatively easy to attain to the grace of the almighty, sovereign, and majestic God of the Occamists seemed less clear to Luther the longer he thought about it. His own terrifying experiences he later described in the words: "My fears increased till sheer despair. Left naught but death to be my share; The pangs of hell I suffered."

It was the study of the Holy Scriptures, particularly the epistles of the apostle Paul, and also the study of the works of the church father Augustine that finally rescued him from distress.

In 1508 Luther was sent to Wittenberg to assume a temporary professorship in the university founded there as recently as 1502 by Elector Frederick the Wise. After his return to Erfurt he made a journey to Rome in the interest of his order. His subsequent statements about his experiences in Rome reveal on the one hand how diligently he strove as a pious Catholic to avail himself of every "source of grace" available there and on the other hand that in Rome the abuses of the papal church were plain to see. To be sure, the full implications of many things he saw there dawned on him only later. The conflict in Luther's order, which was the reason for his dispatch to Rome as the associate of the real representative could not be resolved even by this personal visit to the supreme prior of the order. To free Luther from a difficult situation, his superior Staupitz transferred him permanently to Wittenberg and assigned to him his own professorship and lectures on the Bible. To qualify for this professorship, Luther took the doctor of theology degree in 1512, and from this year on he remained in Wittenberg. He also brought his career to a close there, though he did not die in Wittenberg.

But we must not suppose that Luther was never away from Wittenberg. In 1518 we find him at the Diet of Augsburg, where he had to defend himself before the Roman Cardinal Cajetan for his theses against indulgences. He could not participate personally in the Diet of Augsburg (1530) but had to observe the difficult negotiations between the emperor and the Protestants from a distance at Coburg. In 1537, when the Protestant princes and cities deliberated whether to take part in the

council to be held in Mantua, he went along to Schmalkalden, which already belonged to Hesse, and became dangerously ill. But this was only a short excursion into friendly territory. The controversy about indulgences, which began in 1517, led to excommunication in 1520-21, and eventually at Worms (1521), where he was taken under imperial escort, resulted in the imperial ban, under which Luther remained to the day of his death, had the effect of keeping Luther confined to Wittenberg in a manner quite unusual for that time. Practically all his works were written in Wittenberg, and only there did he give academic lectures. In Wittenberg he married the former nun Katharina von Bora and reared his family. Thus the German Reformation is in the final analysis a Wittenberg Reformation. The designation Wittenberg Reformation is as legitimate as the designation Lutheran Reformation, even though what happened in Wittenberg applied to all of Germany and far beyond its boundaries. The German Reformation is not exclusively Luther's work. Yet the ban on Luther and his tremendous lifelong influence emanating from Wittenberg created for the German Reformation a geographical center: Wittenberg.

Luther research of the 20th century has singled out in most emphatic fashion Luther's first five years in Wittenberg, the years of the so-called early lectures on Psalms, Romans, Hebrews, Galatians, and Psalms again. During these early lectures, whose witness was discovered really only in the last hundred years, Luther, it is said, became the Reformer. The theological discovery - the developing doctrine of the justification of man by the free grace of God - represents the real Reformation, we are told. Luther's clash with the Roman Church, unleashed by the theses against indulgences (1517), and his attack on the papacy are of secondary importance. Closely connected with this understanding of the Reformation is the perennially unchallenged conviction that the breakthrough to the new understanding of the Gospel, the so-called "tower experience," did not take place only when Luther lectured on the Psalms the second time, that is, in 1518 or 1519. But so Luther himself maintained in a short biographical



Title page of Luther's Small Catechism. In 1529 Luther's Small Catechism appeared first in poster form, then the Large and the Small Catechism in book form (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)

note prefaced to the first volume (1545) of the collection of his Latin works. The contention was that these Psalm lectures were being mistaken for the first lectures on the Psalms, and that already in 1513 or 1514 Luther had actually made the great discovery that the righteousness of God, of which Paul speaks so often, is not a righteousness that man must earn for himself by a zealous keeping of the Law but a righteousness that has been given to him, a *iustitia passiva*, a gift of the free grace of God.

Less than a decade has passed since a change took place in the thinking about these matters. Luther's breakthrough - according to the opinion of some influential Luther scholars, though their number is not overwhelming - really did occur as late as 1518 or 1519, that is, in the time of the second series of lectures on the Psalms. This is by no means only a question of date, a matter of interest for learned Luther scholars but otherwise immaterial. If Luther became a Protestant Christian only after the posting of the Ninety-five Theses, perhaps a year and a half later or even later than that, then the Luther of the early lectures and of the battle against indulgences was not yet Luther the Reformer, but either a pre-Reformation Luther, in other words, a Luther on the road to the Reformation, or even a Luther who was still Catholic. Not even in the controversy concerning indulgences did the Reformation take place, even though that introduced it. With uncanny consistency the careful critic of the dogma concerning indulgences - for as such did Luther make his appearance in the Ninety-five Theses - became the warrior against the papacy. Yet only this break with Rome in the last analysis represents the actual European turning point, the real Reformation.

An almost curious controversy has been raging for several years about the posting of the Ninety-five Theses. There is no quarrel about the theses concerning indulgences themselves. It is firmly established that Luther conceived them at the latest in the fall of 1517 and that at the end of May 1518 he sent them most formally, together with a scholarly commentary, to the Holy Father, Pope Leo X, a Renaissance pope enthusiastically devoted to daily diversion. It would not be quite

correct, however, to say that forgiveness of sins could be gained by indulgences bought with a sum of money. The church distinguished between eternal and temporal punishments. Eternal punishment strikes a man as soon as he has committed a mortal sin, and from this he can escape only through forgiveness of the guilt. But forgiveness cannot be obtained for money, only upon contrite penitence in the confessional. Temporal punishments, which God or the church imposes on the sinner additionally, must in any case be expiated. The question was whether such expiation could be compensated for with money and of what a person could rid himself by means of money, specifically, whether only of the penalties of the church or also of the punishments of purgatory, which are in the last analysis numbered among the temporal punishments because a time limit applied to them. At the announcement and sale of indulgences, promoted amid pompous solemnities - regular diplomas of indulgence were sold - such fine distinctions were not always made, for in any case only few people understood them. But indulgences became a real scandal when in 1508 and again in 1514 their sale for the benefit of the reconstruction of St. Peter's Church in Rome was announced. In part, however, the sale benefited Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz and Magdeburg, who had to pay a huge sum of money for his multiple offices. The banking firm of the Fuggers had made the loan, and now the representatives of this firm moved up and down the land along with the indulgence salesmen, accompanying also the Dominican monk Johann Tetzel of Pirna, whose appearance in Jüterbog and whose disgraceful statements prompted Luther's attack. For the beneficiary of such a sale - in this case the Hohenzollern cardinal and double archbishop these indulgences could become such a tremendous business venture that neighboring princes would not even admit the indulgence salesmen to their territory. In the pulpit and in his famous Ninetyfive Theses Luther dealt with the theology of indulgences. The stupendous response that greeted him was due to the circumstance that indulgences were not only a theological matter but also an economic and political one and in the final analysis

even a matter that had to do with German honor. After all, a part of the income, and according to the announcement all of it, left the country to go to Rome.

The curious controversy, which at the moment has not yet come to a conclusion, asks whether Luther published his Ninety-five Theses on Oct. 31, 1517, or perhaps not until Nov. 1, 1517, and even whether the story about the posting of the theses on the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg is not a legend. The contest is not very productive because - and this can be proved - the theses concerning indulgences became famous in less than a week. About Nov. 3 Luther wrote to Spalatin that many people were imagining that he had published the theses at the order of the elector of Saxony or for his benefit. By what other method than the posting could their imagination have been stirred? The interesting problems have a way of hiding the statements in the foreground and disclosing themselves only in connection with the other controversy about the beginnings of Luther's reformatory thinking. If the reformatory breakthrough did not occur until about one and a half years after the publication of the Ninety-five Theses, the theology Luther championed in the controversy about the theses was still the theology of the Middle Ages. Actually the theology with which Luther excited the church of his time beyond all bounds was a product of the theology of the monks of the late Middle Ages, who harked back to certain statements of St. Augustine. Today we call it the theology of humility: before God man is a cipher, and his best works are mortal sins, for they are always poisoned with pride and selfreliance. The reason for Luther's being condemned and excommunicated from the Catholic Church was not his "theology of the Word of God," as people today like to call Luther's later theology, but his alleged late-medieval theology of humilityprovided we do not for once take the extratheological factors into consideration (the prestige of the papacy, economic motives), which did of course weigh heavily.

The cautious criticism in individual statements of the Ninety-five Theses developed into an attack on the papacy by Luther that went beyond any

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Ain Wiester kain Leweyb bat. Wye On christlich und scheolich aim gmainen Autz Die menschen seynd. Welche bindern die Ofassen Am Lelichen stand. Durch Adhan Eberlin Von Güntzburg. Anno.



Title page of a pamphlet by Johannes Eberlin von Günzburg, 1522, showing marriages of bishops, monks, and nuns (Photo – Wittenberg, Luther Museum)

REIGNER REALING DOOM

Epn Sermon von dem Wucher. Doctoris Martini Luther Zwarfing zu Wittenbagt.



Title page of "A Sermon on Usury," one of several essays by Luther on the problem of interest in the rising monetary system. Printed by Johann Grünenberg, Wittenberg, 1519 (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)

criticism of the pope the Middle Ages had seen. The reason for the intensification of the struggle was of course that Luther was put on trial by stages, in June 1518 for spreading new doctrines, in August 1518 with the charge stretched to notorious heresy. Because of the threatening, and then actual death (Jan. 12, 1519) of Emperor Maximilian, the trial dragged on for more than two years. Because of the trial. Luther became famous. and his writings of that period, which were anything but militant, were being reprinted in cultured cities like Nuremberg, Augsburg, Strasbourg, Basel, and Leipzig. The long wait for the excommunication, which Luther intended to defy, obliged him to develop a new understanding of the church. The true church is something altogether different, something not so immediately visible as the church that could rid itself of its opponents by means of excommunications that could possibly be unjust. The year 1520 produced several important polemics by Luther: the attack on Roman mismanagement in the essay "To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation"; the break with the Roman doctrine on the sacraments in the essay "The Babylonian Captivity of the Church"; and the description of Christian life as a life of freedom and yet at the same time one of brotherly service to other people in the treatise "The Freedom of a Christian Man" and in the "Sermon Concerning Good Works."

When the bull Exsurge Domine, which threatened excommunication, was finally released June 15, 1520, a bull that compared Luther to a "wild boar that uproots the Lord's vineyard," it elicited a series of polemical writings and led to the famous burning of a copy of the bull and of the Canon Law at the Elster Gate in Wittenberg on Dec. 10, 1520. The real bull of excommunication of Jan. 3, 1521, the papal representative Hieronymus Aleander brought along to the Diet of Worms, where Luther, who had already in 1518 in Augsburg refused to recant before Cardinal Cajetan, had an opportunity to declare himself and again refused to recant. In the Edict of Worms Luther and all his followers were put under the ban of the empire. Then Luther was taken to the Wartburg at the instigation of his elector, who acted with such diplomatic prudence that we cannot be certain even today whether he merely wanted justice done over against Luther or actually stood behind Luther's position himself.

With the Edict of Worms the history of the German Reformation begins in the strict sense. This is naturally a very pointed statement, and it is not true in every respect. Luther's influence was very strong long before the Diet of Worms. His writings were already at work in France, Poland, and Hungary, far beyond the boundaries of Germany. But not until after the Diet of Worms did it become clear that not only Luther and his statements were at issue but a cause that could not be destroyed even if Luther were put out of the way. The imposition of the imperial ban on Luther is a measure beyond which further intensification is hardly thinkable. How this ban could be the beginning of the triumphal march of the Reformation can of course be understood only from the political situation in Europe and from the developments in world politics between the Diet of Worms (1521) and the beginning of the Council of Trent in 1545.

The pre-Reformation era in Europe was a time of few great powers. Only two European powers had genuine prospects of becoming great. One of these can be referred to only with the name of a dynasty. The House of Habsburg had the good fortune of being able to combine into a powerful complex, essentially by means of a series of marriages, the ruling families of the Iberian peninsula, Castile and Aragon, which became Spain at the time of the Reformation, economically a uniquely strong kingdom between Germany and France that extended from Flanders to Lake Geneva and called itself Burgundy, South German territories (Vorderösterreich), and Austria proper. Because the "New World" was conquered from Castile (and Portugal), Habsburg developed not only into a European but a world power.

The other European power to take up the contest for supremacy in Europe and the world was France. At the head of the Habsburg power was Emperor Charles V (1519–1558); at the head of France, Francis I (1515–1547). A victory of neither power could be helpful to the German Reforma-

tion, for both were definitely Catholic. The only chance for the Reformation lay in forces that made the clash between the two claimants of world power difficult or made it a long-drawn-out affair. One such force was the Turk, an extra-European power but one that seriously threatened Europe. In 1526 a hard battle was fought in the lowlands near Mohács, and in 1529 the Turks stood before Vienna, where for several generations to come they were destined to give the European powers great trouble. The collaboration of France and the Ottomans increased for the Habsburgs the menace of the Turks, which was already very dangerous.

The other force, which was most vitally interested in letting neither of these powers completely bring the other to its knees because it could maintain itself only when these great powers were balanced against each other, was located in central Italy. This was the papacy. Its policy was not in the interest of the church as a spiritual force but in the interest of the church-state, which could, if the need arose, also cultivate an alliance with the Turks. But by means of such a policy the papacy furnished Protestantism, which after all was the enemy of the church, with unheard-of assistance, even though it would of course have been glad to see it destroyed.

Besides, the Habsburg emperor was severely hampered in the realization of his lofty ambitions by the efforts of the German estates for a share in the government of the empire. The clashes in international politics that wore on through the whole Reformation period and eventually helped make the Reformation victorious, not in Germany as a whole but in individual German territories, are usually grouped in five German-French wars, by an oversimplification sometimes called the Italian Wars (1521-25; 1526-29; 1536-38; 1542-44; 1566). The council by which an ecclesiastical solution of the problem of the church was to be achieved could not be held until after the showdown between Habsburg and France, or more precisely, after the conclusion of the Fourth Italian War.

Thus Wittenberg, that drab rural town with a university not yet 20 years old when it became famous, really did become the center of events



Title page of the second collection of the "Epistles of Obscure Men," written in large part by Hutten. Hagenau, 1517 (Photo – Wittenberg, Luther Museum)

important in world history, but not only because it was the city of Luther and his Reformation. Wittenberg was the city of Luther and Melanchthon. It would be gross misjudgment to think of Melanchthon merely as one of Luther's coworkers, even as the most prominent. Luther had a large number of co-workers in Wittenberg; even outside Wittenberg a considerable number of men can be named as his comrades-in-arms and fellow reformers. Nikolaus von Amsdorf became professor in Wittenberg already in 1511, or shortly before Luther did. He enjoyed Luther's unlimited confidence and even after Luther's death proved himself the real heir of Luther's spirit. Pomeranian Johannes Bugenhagen came to Wittenberg in 1521. became pastor of the Town Church in 1523, and faithfully supported Luther. Justus Jonas also belonged to the innermost circle of Luther's friends. It would hardly be possible to enumerate all of Luther's co-workers, of whom a few later also became his enemies (Carlstadt) or lost his confidence (Agricola). It is of course questionable whether Luther understood these and other opponents correctly.

Melanchthon (1497-1560) was much more than one of Luther's co-workers. An extremely young professor, this grandnephew of the famous humanist Johannes Reuchlin came to Wittenberg in 1518 at age 21. Like his granduncle, he was a humanist, but the grandnephew's reputation was destined to become even more bright and famous. In the course of years Melanchthon became the leading figure among German humanists, and not without reason has he been called Praeceptor Germaniae ("Teacher of Germany"). But of course he was not the first German humanist. Decades before his time such men as Peter Luder and Conrad Celtis had brought the spirit of the Italian Renaissance to Germany. Numerous humanists, also men who eloquently and vehemently represented Germany's case against Rome, for instance, Ulrich von Hutten, were already at work when Luther became famous: Konrad Mutianus Rufus, Rubeanus Crotus, Eoban Hessus, to list only a few. Practically all universities, also those still very closely bound to the Middle Ages, from time to time had humanists among their teachers. At Erfurt, that eminently

Scholastic university, Luther even heard a lecture by Hieronymus Emser, later one of his worst enemies. All German humanists, including Melanchthon, regarded with profound respect that absolute king of European learning of their time, Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (1464?-1536). Humanism in Germany was also a form of reformation, and so we speak of two reformations today. In this sense, too, humanism was a reformation, for it expected the return to things primal to lead to a renewal of spirit and culture, of church and morals. Many humanists were interested in Luther, and for a time numerous humanists were among his followers. There is also an inner relation between reformatory and humanistic ideals. The famous Ad fontes ("Back to the sources!") of the humanists elicited in the church a very strong interest in the church fathers (instead of in the medieval Scholastic theologians) and was practically able to lead to the Reformation's sola scriptura ("by Scripture alone"). Through cooperation with Melanchthon Luther came to acknowledge the Holy Scriptures as the only authority in matters of faith. But the other possibility was also present, that the humanist tried to rescue church tradition in the face of a one-sided Biblicism. Not a few humanists remained insistent Catholics or even became definite enemies of Luther.

We should not fail to appreciate that in Wittenberg a very high degree of synthesis between evangelical Christianity and humanism was quite generally achieved. Hardly a single Wittenberg theologian can be named who was not also a humanist (Amsdorf was perhaps least humanistic). Even Luther became a humanist, and Melanchthon's influence in this direction was not the least. Luther was working with the Erasmus edition of the Greek New Testament as early as 1516, i. e., before Melanchthon came to Wittenberg. He learned Hebrew in connection with his work on the Psalms. When he eventually called on the magistrates of cities to arrange for schools ("To the Councilmen of All Cities in Germany," 1524) to encourage language study among the youth, in the humanistic sense, of course, he was thinking of a regular cultural program announced at a moment when pronounced anticultural forces were at work

(Carlstadt). Evidences of Luther's humanism are apparent in his evaluation of history, including the insight that all laws and ordinances are relative.

Complete agreement between the reformatory and humanistic movements was not achieved in Wittenberg. With the great humanist Erasmus Luther engaged in a heavy passage-at-arms in 1525 that led to a parting of the ways between them. Erasmus wrote "Concerning Free Will" (1524), and Luther "Concerning Enslaved Will" (1525). Luther too quoted Italian humanists, of course. It was the Biblical faith in revelation that divided Luther and Erasmus. The point of division between Luther and the great humanist was the conviction that Erasmus espoused a form of Christianity that every Jew and heathen who does not believe in Christ could adopt. The controversy between Luther and Erasmus had one other serious consequence. Many humanists who were at the same time Protestants, Melanchthon in the lead, did not go all the way with Luther. Luther and Melanchthon never quarreled, but the beginnings of later tensions and divisions within Lutheranism are already apparent in the time of the clash between Luther and Erasmus.

The year 1525 was a year of decision in general for the German Reformation, and it brought still other contrasts and divisions. It was the year of the Peasants' Revolt, which Luther considered the climax of the clash between himself and those whom he called Schwärmer or Schwarmgeister ("Enthusiasts"). Zwickau, Allstedt, Mühlhausen, and Orlamunde are not places associated with Luther, and yet they are important for the history of the Reformation. A man who at first became a student and a follower of Luther and then a fanatic opponent of his became known to the public as the pastor of St. Mary's in Zwickau (1521). He was Thomas Münzer, born at Stolberg in the Harz Mountains. Who was in the right is the subject of much debate even today. Hardly anybody maintains any longer that Luther did full justice to Münzer. Essential to Münzer's development was his contact with the so-called Tuchknappen ("weavers' apprentices") in Zwickau. Here the Bohemian Reformation was influential. The most radical branch of the Hussites, the Taborites, were

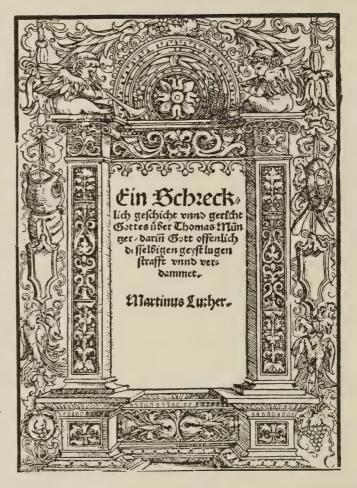


Title page of the publication "The Basic and Main Articles of the Peasants and Small Farmers," 1525 (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)

the spiritual fathers of such "Zwickau Prophets" as Nikolaus Storch and Markus Stübner. Thomas Münzer became one of them. In these circles the law of God and the Biblical prediction of the Last Day were interpreted absolutely. They believed that the end of all things was at hand and that they were called to proclaim and even to execute judgment on all godless people. After his sojourn in Zwickau, Thomas Münzer went to Prague to become acquainted with the "new apostolic church." He thought of himself as the prophet of the end-time, filled with the Spirit of God, who used him as His implement to lead the church into all truth. He looked upon Luther as the slave of the dead word of the Bible. During Münzer's pastorate in Allstedt he and Luther became irreconcilable enemies. Münzer visited the Peasants' War territory in southern Germany only once, and then briefly. As the pastor of Mühlhausen he became, together with Heinrich Pfeiffer, a victim when the feudal nobility struck down the peasant movement. Luther's position over against the peasant movement became very difficult. At first he tried to mediate in the clash between the nobility and the revolutionary peasants. Later he opposed the peasants and wrote frightful statements against them in his essay "Against the Murderous and Thieving Peasant Bands" (1525). It took a long time before he was ready to plead that people should not act too cruelly toward the defeated. In the person of Münzer not only the forces of the Bohemian Reformation came into contact with the German Reformation. Münzer and a second theologian who once was very close to Luther, Andreas Bodenstein of Carlstadt, commonly called Carlstadt, were followers of a large branch of the German Reformation that is today called the third, or radical, branch of the Reformation. The most diverse groups belonged to this branch, such as the Anabaptists, who rejected infant baptism and whose followers strenuously but hardly with full justice resist the idea that their spiritual ancestors had anything to do with Thomas Münzer. Among them the power that produced communion was not only the Baptism of faith but above all the idea of a self-contained Christian congregation, completely independent of the organization of the state, in which the Word of the Bible or the living Spirit of God was exclusively valid.

People who allowed only the Spirit of God to be determinative but were neither interested in the struggle against infant baptism nor had the prophetic consciousness of having been sent and the fighting spirit of Münzer or of militant Anabaptist groups are called Spiritualists. To them belonged the Silesian nobleman Kaspar von Schwenckfeld and also Sebastian Franck. The people who denied the ancient church's doctrine of the Trinity and who were able to live peaceably in only few places in Europe, in Poland and Transylvania, form the most extreme wing of the radicals. ("Radical Reformation" is today a common expression for all those who have been theologically most consistent and have deviated most from dogmatic tradition.) The relationships between the various groups have by no means all been explored, although the investigation of the Anabaptists and other radicals of the Reformation era is today the theme most vigorously pursued in Reformation history. The radicals seemed unable to make history. The Anabaptists were most cruelly suppressed, and after an adventure in Münster - the establishment of the Kingdom of Zion - they were wiped out in bloody fashion in 1534-1535. In spite of this opposition to the Anabaptist movement, perhaps even because of it, the radicals of the time of the Reformation exerted an unexpected influence on the intellectual life of modern times. The roots of the left wing of the Reformation are to be found not only in the environs of Wittenberg but also in Switzerland. But the picture of the German Reformation would be incomplete if we should overlook those who thought of conquering Wittenberg itself while Luther was in the Wartburg.

Although Luther felt himself caught in a lifelong battle with Enthusiasts and Sacramentarians (those who despise the sacrament), we must of course also realize that he thought of Ulrich Zwingli, the reformer of Zurich and finally of all of Germanspeaking Switzerland, simply as the most prominent representative of Enthusiasm. With Zwingli Luther still carried on a battle for years after the



Title page of Martin Luther, "The Dreadful Story and God's Judgment of Thomas Münzer," 1525 (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)

Peasants' War, a battle that had begun as a debate between Luther and Carlstadt, the dispute concerning the understanding of the Lord's Supper. Finally Luther and his supporters and Zwingli and his friends carried on negotiations in the castle at Marburg at the beginning of October 1529. Landgrave Philip of Hesse, who was determined to bring about unity between German and Swiss Protestants at a moment of greatest danger to the Protestant cause initiated the Marburg Colloquy. The emperor had virtually ended his quarrels with France, with the Turks, yes, even with the pope. The following year (1530) he intended to come to Germany to clear up the religious problem, in the Catholic sense, of course. Luther and Zwingli achieved agreement on many subjects in Marburg, but in one matter, the Lord's Supper, they could not agree. For Zwingli bread and wine were symbols of communion with the Lord, but Luther confessed the presence of the body of Christ in the elements. The antagonism between Zwinglians and Lutherans was never reconciled, at least not in the time of the Reformation.

In Marburg and in particular at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530 it became clear that the situation may not be oversimplified. Three different Protestant groups were represented in Augsburg: the Wittenberg Lutherans with Melanchthon instead of the outlawed Luther at their head; the Swiss, but only insofar as Zwingli had his confession, the Fidei ratio ("Faith's Account"), delivered to the emperor; and the cities of upper Germany - Strasbourg, Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau - with their Tetrapolitana ("Confession of Four Cities"), who represented a distinct Protestant type. The theologian who had been most influential in Upper Germany was Martin Bucer, a former Dominican and an early friend and follower of Luther. He went his own way, however, independent though not denying that his way of thinking was moulded by Erasmus, and unflinchingly turned his attention to composing differences, later becoming the teacher of Calvin and thus a father of the Reformed Church, and after the Schmalkaldic War going to England to take part in the development of the Anglican Church - truly an interesting personality! The

harsh antagonism between Luther and Zwingli and the latter's followers must not blind us to the fact that between the Lutheran Wittenberg Reformation, the first branch of the Reformation, and the radicals, the third branch, there was also a second force, which did not assume definite form as the Reformed Church, however, until the middle of the century. More forces in the Reformed camp than was readily admitted for a long time also date back to the beginning of the Wittenberg Reformation. In a truly strange way everything developed from Wittenberg.

Above all, the Peasants' War compelled the Reformation movement after a period of wild growth to create a more settled organization for itself, and of course it has always been a serious question whether the right forms were always found. The beginnings of Protestant orders of service go back to the Wartburg days. At that time Thomas Münzer, for example, created his Deutsches Amt ("German Service"). Only very cautiously did Luther make improvements, and his first German order was that of Baptism. His Deutsche Messe ("German Mass") he did not write until 1526, and then not in the form of a law or norm but only as a nonbinding model for Protestant worship, very conservative and with a good deal of consideration for the liturgical legacy. It did not disturb Luther that the people in Strasbourg and Württemberg and elsewhere in the south thought altogether differently. For him not the form of worship was essential, only the concern that the newly discovered Gospel be preached. When the new Gospel assumed the stature of doctrinal teaching with binding force, that is, in the form of confessions, a necessity was expressed. Those who contended for the Word of God, statesmen like Elector John of Saxony as well as theologians, could not enter the lists without formulated confessions. The Augsburg Confession, read and presented in Augsburg in 1530, has become the basic confession of all who profess the Reformation faith in agreement with Luther. The third factor in the organization of the Reformation church along with worship and doctrine in the form of confessions was the creation of church administration. Visitations were the beginning of the system of national churches. Not first but most influential was the church and school visitation of 1526–29 in Electoral Saxony. National churches were long in preparation in pre-Reformation times and for a long time felt superior to the self-governing papal church and its ambitions for world domination. The Protestant church did not realize until later what a heavy mortgage it had thus saddled itself with, almost not until the sovereignty of princes had collapsed (1918) and the presupposition of a system of national churches was thus removed.

In a moment completely critical for the Protestant cause, when the emperor in 1530, after an absence of nine years, again came into the empire, the development of the Protestant cause came to an uneasy conclusion. An unparalleled time of prosperity for the Protestants began almost immediately following the Diet of Augsburg because the decision of the emperor to implement the Edict of Worms at this time forced the Protestant princes and cities to go on the defensive. As a result of the organization of the Schmalkaldic League (not official until 1531), one German territory after another introduced the Reformation. Pomerania, Anhalt, Württemberg, Brandenburg, and even Albertine Saxony became Protestant. Under the protection of the Schmalkaldic League numerous German princes and lords were able to reap the rewards of the fact that the Gospel had been successful among the populace and had won the day. Even in the so-called ecclesiastical territories the Protestant faith, usually under the leadership of ecclesiastical nobility, prevailed in many places. But this period of tremendous growth of the Protestant cause and of prosperity for the Schmalkaldic League did not last longer than a decade and a half. It is well known that Emperor Charles V in spite of everything did succeed in making peace with his enemies, especially France, and in bringing his armed might to bear on the Reformation. The Schmalkaldic War of 1546-47 crushed the Schmalkaldic League, and the war ended with the capitulation of Wittenberg, which resulted in the capture of Elector John Frederick of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse and in the dissolution of the old Electoral Saxony. Did this also end the Wittenberg Reformation?

By means of an imperial law, the so-called Interim, enacted at the armed Diet of Augsburg (1548) in the form of a provisional settlement of the religious controversy pending a full settlement by a church council, the emperor tried to lead Germany back to the old church through small concessions to the Protestants. That this approach was not successful, that the Interim lapsed after five years, that at the Augsburg Diet of 1555 a religious peace had to be signed to forbid a bloody settlement in the future between the traditionalists and those affiliated by the Augsburg Confession - all this was not the result of only a single fact. In return for the electorate, which had been promised and now also granted to the Protestant Duke Moritz of Saxony, the duke had fought on the emperor's side, and later this "Judas of Meissen" had to reestablish himself by making a surprise attack on the emperor and forcing him to relent. But the Protestant faith had taken root in Germany, even if not in all of Germany, and this is without doubt the other and the most profound reason why peace had to be made and why the Wittenberg Reformation was not wiped out but endured.

The story of the Wittenberg Reformation - in our wide sense of the word - has now been told up to the Peace of Augsburg but by and large without reference to the countercurrents that stood in its way. But the Reformation was not a movement that always made uninterrupted progress and regularly overcame its opposition; it clashed with very vigorous forces that constantly renewed their strength. The most bitter and determined opponent of Luther and his Reformation was one of the most elegant and by human estimate one of the most worthy noblemen of all of Reformation history, morally superior to many a prince on the side of the Reformation, even though as a prince he was of course a man of his times. This was George the Bearded, the duke of the other, Albertine, Saxony. At the Leipzig Debate in 1519 he was determined to get an accurate picture of Luther and his intentions. Duke George himself was the core and center of a circle of Luther's opponents who wrote against the Reformation and numbered among its members Hieronymus Emser, Augustinus Alvelt, and Johannes Cochläus - the latter's biography

Mblag/oder vlied brieff/Des Gellischen Lucifers/Doctor Martin Luther int nu gesandt.



A messenger from hell brings Luther the devil's challenge. Contemporary woodcut (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)

of Luther served for centuries as the sorry source of Catholic Reformation research. The first energetic theological opponent of Luther, who throughout his life was unswervingly at Luther's heels, was Johann Eck, the professor from Ingolstadt, known as the house theologian of the Fuggers. At Leipzig he debated with Carlstadt and Luther, in Augsburg (1530) he appeared as the spokesman of the emperor's theologians, and even at the religious colloquies of the 1540s, which were much more cautious and brought much more irenic personalities into play, he was in the thick of it. That he was considered indispensable reveals the limited theological strength of the opponents of the Reformation and how little all of them were able to accomplish against Luther and his comrades.

But when we consider these opponents of Luther and his work, we can speak of a Counter-Reformation only in a limited way. Only a powerful statesman could be the leader of the Counter-Reformation in the sense that efforts were made to check the Reformation movement by force of arms. Charles V may already be considered the center of the Counter-Reformation. Its real leading figure, however, was his son Philipp II, who became his successor not as German emperor but as king of Spain, duke of Burgundy, and king of Naples-Sicily. His time to become a menace to Germany did not come until after the Peace of Augsburg. It is safe to say that the Counter-Reformation in Germany, and very likely also outside Germany, could not have achieved its goal if it had been nothing more than a battle against the Reformation and against the Protestant faith. In Germany, but also in many other countries of Europe, the internal power of the Reformation was far too strong to be broken by force of arms or by tenacious adherence to Catholic tradition. Not until an internal recovery and renewal of the Catholic Church began and a Catholic reformation followed was anything to be expected again for the future of the Catholic faith. That strength for renewal which was present within the Catholic Church already before Luther, even in Germany, is not only stoutly maintained by the newer Catholic Reformation research but could hardly be challenged seriously. But it is an equally undeniable historical fact that it was not strong enough to prevent the escalation of Luther's battle against indulgences to a passionate attack on the papacy and the idea of the papacy. The Catholic will to reform the church and particularly the Curia did not make its appearance until Pope Adrian VI (1522-23), the last "German" pope, had his nuncio present a confession of sins at the second of the three Nuremberg Diets in 1522. Only the fact that these Catholic reform forces were present in Italy and in the Curia (the founding of the Theatine Order in 1524 and the organization of a reform circle of cardinals, among whom were men like Contarini, Pole, Sadoleto, and Caraffa) made it possible in the first place for Catholic reform to become effective for Catholicism overall. It is an eminently pertinent circumstance that exclusively Catholic Spain through Ignatius of Loyola and his Society of Jesus came above all to be the area from which strong and lively Catholic forces emanated to spread all over Europe. The Catholic consciousness of the Spaniards had experienced a tremendous stimulus when the last Arabs were driven out in the 15th century. Scholasticism lost its old glamour everywhere else in Europe and became the laughingstock of the humanists, but in Spain it enjoyed a new period of prosperity, and as baroque scholasticism at the beginning of the 17th century it even exerted an influence on Protestant Wittenberg. This shows where the sources of strength of reawakening and self-renewing Catholicism lay. One must not be deceived by the baroque representation of the conquest of the Protestants in the Il Gesù Church in Rome, where they are portrayed as devils creeping about on earth and trodden underfoot by Ignatius and his host of warriors. The work of the Jesuits was not in the first place the valor in battle but the service of folk missions among the "poorest and most degenerate people," pedagogical labors at universities, and highly questionable "services as father confessors" at the courts of the nobility, with the purpose, of course, of making room for Catholic thinking. In Germany Petrus Canisius was at the head of the Catholicism of the Counter-Reformation. The period beginning in the middle of the 16th century was a time both of consolidation of the Reformation church and of the development of Counter-Reformation strength. Thus Luther and the Reformation had become the impetus also for an internal renewal of the papal church against which Luther's passionate will to fight was directed.

When Luther died (Feb. 18, 1546), the fathers of the Council of Trent had just assembled in the southernmost place in Germany. This council doubtless gave an internal strength to Catholicism and clarified many questions that had been left open and had provoked the attack of the Reformation. At Trent it became apparent that the Catholic Church still possessed vital strength and vital rights, but also that the strength of the Wittenberg Reformation could not be broken.

Both churches still stand side by side, and the end of the separation is not in sight. The efforts to understand one another and to take one another seriously are among the great promises of our church life today. Catholics endeavor to understand Luther, and among Protestants a consciousness of responsibility for the entire church is coming to life.

FRANZ LAU



Preceding page: The Parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard. Detail: Christ, accompanied by Peter and John, rejects the claim of high wages presented by the first group of laborers, the Roman Church. The other half of the picture portrays the work of the reformers. Epitaph of Paul Eber (d. 1569) by Lucas Cranach the Younger (Wittenberg, City Church)

Below: The house in Eisleben where Luther was born. Drawing by O. Warmholz. Lithograph by E. Sachse, 19th century (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)

Right: Cloister of the so-called Black Monastery of the Augustinian Eremites in Erfurt. Luther's cell formerly at the left above. Recent restoration and renovation









Left: Interior of the cathedral in Erfurt (1455–1465). View toward the chancel. Most probably Luther was ordained to the priesthood there.

Above: A Luther portrait of 1520. Engraving by Lucas Cranach the Elder. First impression of the oldest portrait of Luther, probably including a sketch of the artist himself (Weimar, State Collection)



Left: The stone plate on the tomb of foundry owner George Fischer (d. 1505), depicting a Gregorian Mass, from which the favorite representation of the Middle Ages, Christ as Man of Sorrows, originated (Arnstadt, Upper Church)

Above: Coat of arms of the University of Wittenberg, showing its founder, Frederick the Wise. 17th-century wood relief (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)

Below: View of Wittenberg. Colored print by the Cranach studio (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)



WITEBERGA, GLORIOSA DEI CIVITAS,

SEDES ET ARX VERÆ DOCTRINÆ CATHOLICÆ, SEPTEMVIRATVS SAXONICI METROPOLIS, ACADEMIARVM IN EVROPA
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Above: Luther's house in Wittenberg as it appeared about 1825. Drawing and lithograph by E. Dietrich (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)

Above, right: Medal lampooning the pope by Peter Flötner. Obverse: the pope, but upside down, the devil. Reverse: a cardinal, but upside down, a fool (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)

Below, right: Mirabilia Urbis Romae, 1491. A guidebook for pilgrims to Rome. Facing pages showing Roman churches, the city symbol of the she wolf nursing Romulus and Remus, and the coats of arms of the German empire, the pope, and the city of Rome (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)











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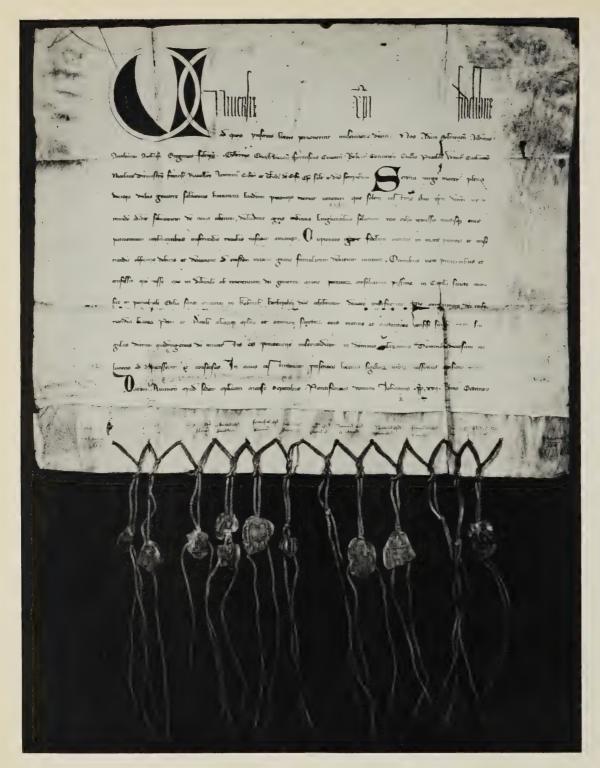


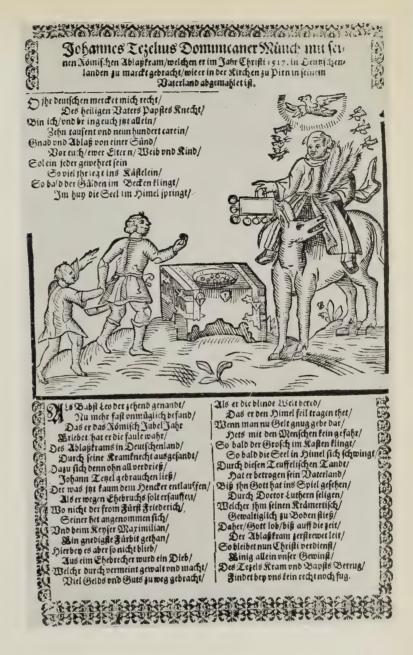
Above: The oldest Luther medal, 1519. Obverse: Luther as monk, at age 36. Reverse: *Sic tandem* – "Now at last!" Above it the phoenix rising rejuvenated from the ashes (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)





Left: Fort Coburg. Detail from the epitaph of Michael Meienburg by Lucas Cranach the Elder (Formerly Nordhausen, Church of St. Blasius) Right: Johannes von Staupitz. Vicar-general of the German Observantine order. Luther's superior in the Augustinian order, later adviser to the archbishop of Salzburg, cathedral preacher, and abbot of the Benedictine monastery of St. Peter, Salzburg. Painting by an unknown master (Salzburg, Archabbey of St. Peter)





Left: Diploma of Pope John XXII, 1323, authorizing indulgences, given under the seal of the committee of cardinals in charge of indulgences (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)

Right: Caricature of Tetzel's sale of indulgences. Tetzel with paraphernalia riding on a donkey. Leaflet of the 17th century (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)





Left: View of the Castle Church of Wittenberg from the west

Right: Interior of the Castle Church. Drawing by Siebenhaar before 1760 (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)



Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg (1490–1565), elector and archbishop of Mainz and Magdeburg, administrator of Halberstadt. Copper engraving by Lucas Cranach the Elder (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)



Burning of Luther's books in the presence of the pope and cardinals, as it never took place in fact. Contemporary woodcut (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)

The dream of Frederick the Wise at Schweinitz, 1517. He sees a monk posting theses on the Castle Church at Wittenberg. The monk's quill grows longer and longer until it knocks the pope's tiara off his head. 18th-century illustration (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)



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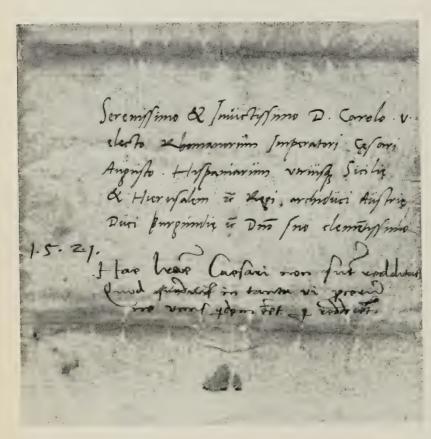
The pope's bull of excommunication against Luther, translated into German and published by Vianesio Albergati (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)

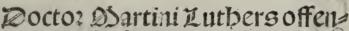
Above: View of Worms. Reconstruction of the state before the destruction of 1689. Detail of the cathedral area and the emperor's palace. Drawing by Peter Hamman (Worms, City Cultural Institute)

Below: Address on Luther's letter to Charles V in Worms, 1521, which gave reasons why Luther did not recant at the diet. The last three lines are a later addition (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)

Right: Title page of "Martin Luther's Public Hearing at Worms." Spalatin's translation of Luther's speech, Augsburg, 1521 (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)







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Left: View of Melanchthon's house in Wittenberg from the garden side

Right: Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560). Painting by Lucas Cranach the Elder, 1533 (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum)



Medallion pictures of Erasmus and Hutten on a book by Hutten (*Expostulatio*), 1523 (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)





Left: The "Triumph of Truth." The misdeeds of the church are led away as captives by Hutten, but the Holy Scriptures and Christ Himself on the triumphal chariot are jubilantly received by the people. Pamphlet, 1524 (Photo – Wittenberg, Luther Museum)

Above: Two pages from the Bible of citizen Pflock of Halle. Left: Pictures of Frederick the Wise, Melanchthon, and Luther (copper engravings pasted in). Right: Drawing by Matthias Grünewald (Berlin, State Museums, Cabinet of Copper Engravings)





Above: Andreas Bodenstein of Carlstadt (1480?-1541). Only known portrait (Basel, University Library)

Below: Nikolaus von Amsdorf (1483–1565). Detail from the grave plate (Eisenach, St. George's Church)



Left: Grave plate of Johannes Bugenhagen (d. 1558). Modeled after a drawing by Lucas Cranach the Elder (Wittenberg, City Church)



Above: Eoban Hessus (1488–1540). Woodcut by Hans Brosamer (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)

Right: Reformation altar by Lucas Cranach the Younger, 1565. "The Last Supper" with the reformers Georg von Anhalt, Luther, Bugenhagen, Justus Jonas, Caspar Cruciger on the left and Melanchthon, Johann Forster, Johann Pfef-

finger, Georg Major, Nikolaus Hausmann, and Bartholomäus Bernhardi on the right as disciples of Jesus. In the left foreground the founder Joachim von Anhalt is kneeling. In the right foreground Cranach the Younger appears as the cupbearer (Formerly Dessau, Castle Church; now Mildensee near Dessau)







Above: Martin Luther and Katharina von Bora. Paintings by Lucas Cranach the Elder, 1526 (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)

Below: Luther's engagement and wedding ring. From Anton Theodor Effner, Dr. M. Luther und seine Zeitgenossen, Augsburg, 1817 (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)

Right: Defamation of Luther's person, work, and death. Contemporary woodcut from a carnival play by H. Hosenbergius Bohemus, 1530 (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)





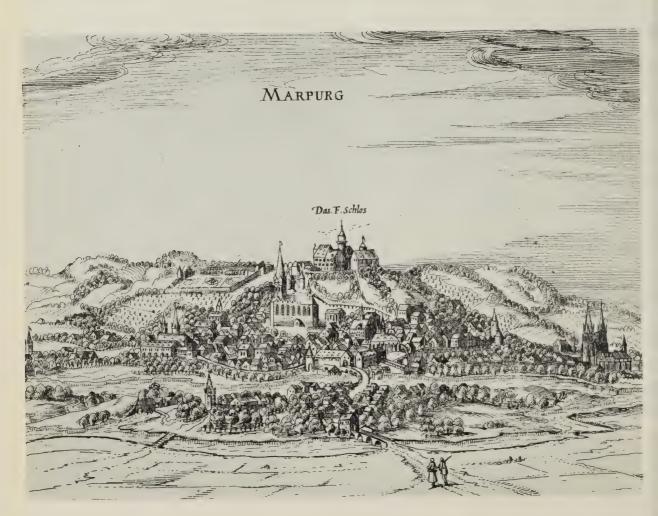
FLACCVS. Ridentem dicere vertim Quid vetat?





Above: Medallion with portrait of Landgrave Philip of Hesse for the founding of the Schmalkaldic League, 1531 (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)

Below: View of Marburg. Landgrave Philip endowed the first Protestant university here in 1527, and in 1529 he arranged the colloquy between Luther and Zwingli. Engraving from Matthäus Merian's *Topographia Germaniae* (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)



Für die gemeine Pfarrherr und Prediger/etc. 54 Diese Figur siehet im Newen Testament/Matthelam Fünften / Luce am Siehenden Capittel.



Die Erste Pitte.

Geheiliget werde dein Name.

That if das? Antwort.

Gottes Name ist zwar an ihm selbs heilig/Aber wir bitten in disen gebet/ daßer ben uns auch heilig werde.

The achietedas? Antwort.

Above: Protestant Sermon. Contemporary woodcut as a catechism illustration (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)

Below: Title page of "Decision of the Diet of Augsburg, 1530," a report concerning the diet (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)





Left: Pulpit in the Castle Chapel at Torgau. In 1544 Luther conducted the service and preached the sermon at the dedication of this first Protestant church building

Below: Distribution of Holy Communion in both kinds to the electoral family by Luther and Huss. Contemporary woodcut (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)







Above: Three electors, Frederick the Wise, John the Steadfast, and John Frederick the Magnanimous. Painting by Lucas Cranach the Elder (Nuremberg, Germanic National Museum)

Below: Goblet presented to Luther by the University of Wittenberg for his wedding in 1525. Copy of the original in Greifswald (Wittenberg, Town Hall)

Above: Medal. Reverse: John Frederick of Saxony rejects the Interim of 1548 (an ordinance of Charles V), presented to him by the devil. John the Baptist directs his attention to the Lamb of God with the cross (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)

Below: Illustration from "Luther's Table Talk," Frankfort on the Main, 1567 (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)







Seutung des Münckkalbs zu Freyderg/Martin Luthers.

Anno M. D. XXIII.



Above: Duke George the Bearded with the Order of the Golden Fleece. Woodcut by an artist known only by monogram, 1535 (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)

Below: "Interpretation of the Freyberg Monk-calf." At first a satire against Luther, 1523, then Luther's reply (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)



Above: Bronze epitaph of Johann Eck (d. 1543), Ingolstadt, 1543. A bust of the deceased, dressed in gown and holding the chalice. Renaissance frame with his coat of arms (Ingolstadt, Church of Our Dear Lady)

Below: Luther shortly before his death. Drawing by his famulus Reifenstein, with handwritten text by Melanchthon about Luther's death entered on a flyleaf of one of the gospels printed in Paris, 1541. From Melanchthon's private library (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)







Left: Luther's grave with a cast grave plate. In the background a casting of his epitaph. Because of the confusion of the wars beginning after Luther's death, the original remained in Jena (Wittenberg, Castle Church)

Right: Only authentic portrait of Luther in death, by the Halle artist Lucas Furtenagel, who was summoned to Eisleben by a messenger on horseback (Formerly Berlin, Cabinet of Copper Engravings)



Above: Portrait of Pope Adrian VI. Copper engraving by Daniel Hopfer (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)

Below: A session of the Council of Trent. Contemporary copper engraving (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)



The Congregation Comes of Age

SWITZERLAND, FRANCE

The documentary film made by the Presbyterians of North America on the history of their Reformed Church begins neither with the Reformation in Geneva nor with the one in Zurich but with a broad outline of a part of the Reformation in Wittenberg. Not only is this historically correct, but it also agrees with the proper understanding the Reformed have had of themselves in the past and have at the present time. Calvin acknowledged himself to be a grateful disciple of Luther and wanted to continue the work of Luther. It must be admitted, of course, that he was conscious of the fact that he belonged to the second generation and that he was confronted by the Counter-Reformation. Here the differences as well as the things held in common, and above all, the same sources and motives, are of decisive importance. The importance of union within the Reformation itself is an essential confessional element of the Reformed faith.

The Reformation, which owes its secret beginnings to the monk Martin Luther in the strict Observantine Augustinian monastery at Erfurt after a primary discovery of justification by faith alone and which entered the public scene several years later from the University of Wittenberg, became a movement that quickly reached out in all directions, laid hold of all estates, and coming from the heart of Germany found its echo in all lands of Europe, at first in the southwest, in the Upper-German language areas, and in the west, in the French-speaking ones. There were three reasons for the

quick response: the religious issue concerning a gracious God that agitated medieval man; the decline of the church in theology and in the care of souls, in worship and administration, in piety and ethics, together with the demand for ecclesiastical reforms that became pressing in this connection; and finally, the circumstance that the Renaissance and humanism supplied the intellectual prerequisites for the return to the time of the church fathers as well as to the sources of faith in the Bible.

Particularly in Switzerland the demand for ecclesiastical reforms and the intellectual movement of humanism were especially active issues. The two great reform councils of Constance and Basel had taken place on the frontiers or in Switzerland but had not been able to strengthen the authority of the church. On the other hand a deepening of the religious life on the part of the laity found its peculiar expression in the circle of Nicholas of Flüe and his Friends of God. As far as humanism was concerned, Basel was its intellectual center. All the Swiss reformers were strongly influenced by humanism; in fact, they came forth from its school. Capito, Hegius, Jud, Myconius, Oecolampadius, and Zwingli all belonged to the circle of Erasmus.

The Swiss Reformation, however, did not begin in the Basel of Erasmus but in Zurich. In Zurich men waited for the renewal of the church as well as of the Swiss Confederation by the power of the Word of God. The call of Zwingli to Zurich was

actually a fruit of this expectation. Without Zurich Zwingli could not have undertaken the work of reform, and without Zwingli Zurich would never have become the first city of the Swiss Reformation.

In what does the significance of this first Swiss Reformation, the Zurich Reformation, consist apart from the liberating, nationally conditioned elements of the Swiss desire for independence from Rome? In this, that here Holy Scripture was raised to the position of being the norm of doctrine as well as of the form of the church and was placed in the center of divine worship and that all else was relegated to the second rank or banned from the life of divine worship. And it lies in this also, that Zwingli in questions on the sacraments espoused a symbolical understanding of the elements in the Lord's Supper fertilized by humanism, in which he thought he could appeal to Augustine. "Believe, and you have eaten!" Faith conditioned by knowledge is the decisive factor with Zwingli. The elements in the sacraments are signs that point in this direction. The "is" in the words of institution means "signifies" and has significative, demonstrative force.

Ulrich Zwingli (1484–1531), the son of a miner and mayor of Wildhaus in Toggenburg, at the age of five was sent to be educated by his uncle, a Zwingli who was city dean at Weesen on the Lake of Wallenstadt, and at 10 he was sent to the Latin school at Basel. At 12 he transferred to the humanistic school of Wölflin at Bern, and at 14 he went to the University of Vienna.

At 18 he returned to the University of Basel, where he earned the master of arts degree in preparation for the study of theology. In the same year he was consecrated to the priesthood in the cathedral at Constance after he had been called as a pastor to Glarus. During this time he twice acted as an army chaplain on campaigns to Italy and witnessed the decisive battles at Novara (1513) and Marignano (1515). In 1516 he was people's priest (secular priest) in Einsiedeln, and at the end of 1518 he was called to the Great Minster at Zurich. Up to 1514 Zwingli professed papal Catholicism in an uncritical manner. For his services he received an annual pension of 50 gulden from the pope.

From 1514 Zwingli became ever more deeply immersed in Erasmus' world of thought. He also visited him in Basel and acknowledged himself to be an Erasmian. What attached him to Erasmus was the way in which the humanist pointed to Christ as the teacher of God's will and the Sermon on the Mount as God's law. Zwingli also became enthusiastic about the pacifism of Erasmus, and this also moved him to oppose mercenary military service. Ever since the 13th century it was very common for the Swiss to offer themselves for military service in foreign armies for a monetary recompense. That Erasmus was also a teacher of free will and that he did not come forward as a witness for grace alone was not yet clear to Zwingli. Accordingly Erasmus was given a reformed interpretation by Zwingli. Not until 1520, two years after his call to the Great Minster at Zurich, was the reformed understanding of the Gospel awakened in Zwingli, the knowledge of sin, justification by grace, faith as confidence in mercy and not in meritorious sanctification. Zwingli came to this turning point, as the most recent research has shown, on the basis of the study of the Pauline epistles and Augustine's commentary on John, and so, in the first instance, without any direct influence of Luther. Thus it may also be explained that Zwingli went his own ways after his acquaintance with Luther, although he was now drawn into the full stream of the Reformation. Zwingli's peculiar way of thinking manifests itself above all in his testimony concerning the Holy Spirit, who draws man to God and by means of illumination (Augustine) imparts an immediate faith to him without the mediation of the sacraments. From this Zwingli's doctrine of the Lord's Supper later developed in distinction from Luther's.

On the basis of this reformed faith of Zwingli the separation from the Roman Church took place in several stages. In 1520 Zwingli renounced his papal honorarium. In 1522 friends of Zwingli broke the regulations on fasting in the Passion season, and Zwingli defended those who broke the fast with his first reformatory writing: "On the Choice and Freedom of Foods." The city council of Zurich requested the bishop of Constance for an opinion, but when he took no action, Zwingli



Ulrich Zwingli. Woodcut by Hans Asper for the Stumpf Chronicle. Presumably after the medallion by Stampfer (Leipzig, University Library)

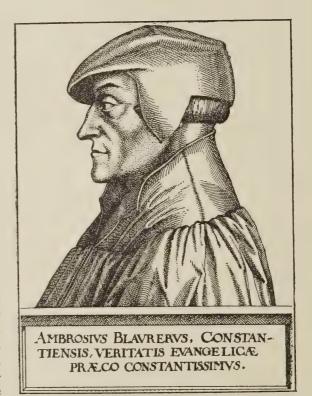
induced the council to invite the priests of the city and canton to a religious discussion. This invitation also requested representation from the bishop, and he sent his vicar general, Johannes Faber. For this discussion Zwingli composed his second reformatory writing, the "Sixty-seven Theses." The result of the disputation was that the Zurich council approved preaching in agreement with Scripture. Next followed a disputation according to which the Mass as the repetition of the one sacrifice of Christ and the cult pictures that served as objects of devotion were to be abolished. This did not mean that works of art as such were to be destroyed. The monasteries were closed; the revenues were expended on teachers of the interpretation of Holy Scripture. Thus the "Prophecy" arose, the seminary for the interpretation of the Old Testament. Preaching was introduced, and the Mass was changed into the Communion service, which was held four times a year. In 1525 the reorganization of the church in Zurich was accomplished, that is, in the course of three years. In this work of reformatory reorganization Zwingli gained a faithful collaborator in Leo Jud (1482-1542), who must be regarded as the second reformer of Zurich. A native of Alsace, he studied in Basel and from 1523 was in charge of the parish of St. Peter's in Zurich. He became the director of the Zurich Bible translation, translator of Augustine and Thomas a Kempis, and editor of the writings of Erasmus, Luther, and Zwingli.

In this way Zwingli gained time for further writings that belong to his chief work as a reformer, the Amica exegesis ("Friendly Explanation," 1527), "Commentary on the True and False Religion," (1525), Fidei ratio ("Account of Faith," 1530), and "Outline of the Christian Faith," (1531). In addition there was the personal encounter and discussion with Luther and the other Wittenberg reformers in the Marburg colloquy in 1529.

With this endeavor on behalf of the reformation of the theology and the organization of the church on the inside was associated the clash with the Anabaptists, who were especially active in Zurich. They reproached Zwingli for tampering with the independence of the Christian congregation by asking the city council to take part in the reorganization of the church and thus basically charged him with the reproach of setting up a state church. In fact the opposition between Zwingli and the Anabaptists did break out not because of the problem of infant baptism but on the question of the relation between church and state. In this matter we must concede today that the Anabaptists, in contrast to their time, had important insights. They strove for the separation of church and state. Their retirement, however, linked them with fanatical elements, and for this reason they could not establish any contact with the reformers.

Theocracy and a state church, however, were not objects of Zwingli's intentions. But Zwingli had given support to the development of a state church inasmuch as he had conceded to the government the privilege of making legal enactments in the name of the church, and he maintained that in such an arrangement the kingdom of Christ appeared also externally, a conception of the relation of church and state current in the later Middle Ages and beyond. Hence the Anabaptists, who originally belonged to Zwingli's true adherents and now became his embittered foes, united in a church free of state control. The state's battles against the Anabaptists with weapons of force and Zwingli's with spiritual means went hand in hand. The councillor Grebel, who had Anabaptist tendencies, was arrested and executed.

Contrary to Zwingli's expectation that all the cantons would open their doors to the work of the Reformation, the five original cantons Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, and Lucerne united in defense of the Catholic faith and demanded that the decision on the introduction of the Reformation should be made by the cantons themselves. Thus Zurich was outvoted, but it prevailed on Bern, St. Gall, Basel, and Schaffhausen to come over to the Reformation. The Catholic cantons concluded an alliance with King Ferdinand of Austria. The First War of Kappel of 1529 ended in a compromise. Further violent clashes followed in the Second War of Kappel, in which the central Swiss themselves took the offensive and in which Zwingli accompanied the Zurich troops as a chaplain and fell on Oct. 11, 1531, "fighting bravely." The ascendency



Ambrose Blarer (1492-1564). Prior in Alpirsbach, Zwingli's friend from 1523. Contemporary woodcut (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)

of the Catholic cantons, which lasted until 1712, was the result.

Heinrich Bullinger (1504-1575) became Zwingli's successor. Trained in the school of the Brothers of the Common Life at Emmerich, Bullinger attended the University of Cologne, was deeply affected by the humanism of Erasmus, devoted himself to the study of the church fathers, Luther, and Melanchthon, and followed a call to the monastery school at Kappel. From there he established friendly ties with Zwingli. As the successor of Zwingli he resisted Catholic influence, fought the Anabaptists, and on the other hand claimed freedom for the office of the ministry over against the state. In the realm of ecclesiastical administration he drew up a synodal order for pastors, renewed the school system, and offered refuge to countless religious fugitives from other lands. In the theological field in particular he wrote the first Zurich chronicle and together with Calvin composed the Consensus Tigurinus in 1549, the Zurich agreement on questions concerning the Lord's Supper, the Second Helvetic Confession in 1562, the Confessio Helvetica posterior, the most comprehensive Reformed confession, which was published in 1566 by Frederick III of the Palatinate, called "the Pious."

Zurich was the city in which the Swiss Reformation had its beginning. Geneva, on the other hand, was the city from which the Swiss Reformation and with it the Reformation as a whole gained importance for the Western world. Both centers of the Reformation had received decisive impulses from Basel both in humanistic and reformatory respects. Basel is entitled to third rank, but for the places holding first and second rank Basel is a kind of seedbed. Basel's adherence to the Reformation dates from the year 1529. But already in 1526 Oecolampadius, under the stimulus of Strasbourg, had the Psalms sung in Basel.

Johannes Oecolampadius (1482–1531) was not the only reformer in Basel, but he was the most important one. He studied in Heidelberg, became the tutor of a prince in Mainz, and a pastor in his home city of Weinsberg, where he became familiar with humanism. This led him to further studies in Tübingen and to collaboration in the Greek New Testament of Erasmus. The link with Erasmus

helped him to the position of a confessor in the minster at Basel. A transfer to the cathedral at Augsburg and the attendant separation from Erasmus occasioned his withdrawal from humanism and his turning to the Reformation. He adopted this course "paradoxically," inasmuch as he first of all entered the monastery of St. Bridget at Altomünster, where he composed his first Reformation writing, the Paradoxon concerning confession. His departure from the monastery coincided with this. Franz von Sickingen took him in as castle chaplain of the Ebernburg. At the end of 1522 he finally returned to Basel to take up an assignment in lectures on the Bible at the university. In 1529 he took part in the Marburg Colloquy on the side of Zwingli. Outside of Basel he was active in the introduction of the Reformation in Ulm, Memmingen, and Biberach. Here, too, it became true that Basel radiated beams of light out into the land; it manifested the power to send out radiations and the power to attract. It united Strasbourg with Switzerland, offered refuge to Huguenots from France, and itself lived in peace. Thus Farel, among others, as well as Calvin reached western Switzerland via Basel.

In the meantime "mighty Bern," which had espoused the Reformation since 1528 and for a time counted as one of the great powers of Europe, intervened in the Reformation of western Switzerland and supported Farel's work as a reformer in Neuenburg (1530/31) and in Geneva (1535). William Farel (1489-1565) was a disciple of the "Parisian Erasmus," Lefèvre d'Etaples (Faber Stapulensis). In his youth he was a humanist and held the office of pastor in Dauphiné. Through his own study of the Bible and through the influence of the reformer Oecolampadius of Basel he came over to the Reformation. His flight from France, which was a matter of necessity, led him, like Calvin, to Basel, from where he was called to Neuenburg and then to Geneva.

The significance of Farel, a man with a knowledge of essentials but also with a realization of his own limitations, lay in the sphere of the care of souls and in popular preaching. Beza passed the following judgement on him: "His discourse was not a discussion but an action, just like a battle. Every-

time he mounted the pulpit, it was to engage in battle. As a brave soldier he always stood at the front of the column to lead the first assault. Often he conquered the fortress attacked through the fury of his boldness of speech. At times he won the sinners through the grace of God he offered. He preached in public places, he preached in churches; he proclaimed Jesus Christ in the cottage of the poor and before the council of the nations. His life was a succession of battles and conquests. Every time he went out, he went out to conquer." His most important and most lasting accomplishment was the calling, the "conjuring," of Calvin to Geneva.

Farel, not Calvin, became the first reformer of Geneva. Already before the Reformation, through the work of Farel, Geneva was separating from Rome on grounds of political freedom, and it became a city independent of episcopal rule because it was not willing to tolerate the tyranny as well as the immorality of the bishop. What was the historical course of events? In 1517 citizen Berthelier traveled to neighboring Freiburg with a request for help in the act of liberation. In 1518 the Geneva citizens Blanchet and Noris were apprehended on a journey in Turin, quartered, and the parts of their bodies hung on a tree before the gates of Geneva. In 1519 an army appeared before the city, and the commander requested to be admitted to perform a festive act of devotion. The gates were opened; all the leading citizens of Geneva were captured, and Berthelier was put to death. There was a second siege in 1524, and this time the ruling citizens took to flight over the wintry mountains to Freiburg and Bern. An alliance was concluded between Geneva and "Switzerland," the bishop could no longer maintain his position, and Geneva was liberated.

In this pre-Reformation Geneva Farel was appointed pastor in 1532. In his active manner he immediately began the work of reformation by setting aside the Mass and introducing a reformed order of service. In this way Geneva became an object of interest to power politics, and Charles V was moved to write: "Full of concern for the salvation of your souls and having learned that certain new opinions and sects have begun to spread in your



Zwingli's Exposition of the Christian Faith. First German translation by an unknown translator. The title page shows a so-called Baderschenke. The pupil brings the recuperating teacher a chicken. His relatives bring additional presents. The teacher's return gift is a book (Zurich, Central Library)

midst, we earnestly admonish you not to grant them entry but to eradicate them and to permit no one to teach men to act in conflict with the decrees and traditions of your fathers even in the slightest matter. For this you will receive a fitting reward from Almighty God, and you may expect thanks from all of us." These words sound as if the future significance of Geneva was foreseen in the highest circles.

Meanwhile Farel felt that he was not equal to the task of establishing the Reformation, and he was looking round for a man of adequate stature. He found that man in Calvin (1509–1564), who with the first edition of his *Institutio* in 1536 acquired a European reputation for himself at one blow. In what does the overtowering significance of Calvin consist? In this, that he continued the work of the Wittenberg Reformation in the time of the Coun-

ter-Reformation especially in the territory of western Europe and from there also influenced the form of the church in the so-called New World in a decisive manner.

Among the reformers, Calvin, alongside of Bucer, has become the great ecumenical reformer. This was not the result, in the first instance, of his doctrine of the Lord's Supper with its peculiar character, but it resulted from the problems connected with ecclesiastical orders and forms in the presbyterial-synodical structure. A congregation in which all services rested on the shoulders of the pastor had to become orphaned if the pastor was incompetent in practical affairs, was silenced, or even removed. When the Counter-Reformation, for example, hit the Calvinistic congregations on the Lower Rhine, they stood firm in a phalanx that offered its own resistance after the pastors had been removed. For this task of church organization Calvin in many respects was the called reformer: as a trained jurist, a highly gifted organizer, a refugee who had to be concerned for his new home as well as for his original fatherland in a similar manner and so became an ecumenist.

Born the son of a church official at Noyon in Picardy, he grew up in a noble family and at his father's wish studied law at the Sorbonne in Paris. There he attached himself to the Huguenot circles who had reformed interests and who came together in the palaces of the nobility for Bible study and psalm singing. He experienced a "sudden conversion" - when and under what circumstances and influences is unknown; he left no information on this matter. He changed over to theology from the study of jurisprudence, became a friend of the rector of the university, and drew up a university address for the latter that was permeated by reformatory thoughts. In the persecution inevitable after the solemn academic act, Calvin succeeded in making his escape. Disguised as a winegrower, he made his way over the borders of France in many roundabout ways. He was heading for Renata of Ferrara, who offered a place of refuge to religious refugees and also sheltered the author of the metrical version of the Psalms, Marot.

On the return journey Calvin could not travel through Lothringian territory because of the war

between Emperor Charles V and the king of France, Francis I, and he chose the route passing through Geneva, where he intended only to spend the night.

Farel got to hear about the sojourn of the author of the *Institutio*, visited him, and requested his collaboration. Calvin drew attention to his youthfulness and his studies. Then there followed Farel's "terrible conjuration": "You plead your studies as an excuse, but in the name of Almighty God I make known to you that God's curse will strike you if you refuse your help for the work of the Lord and seek your own interest more than Him." Calvin later confessed: "By this terrible conjuration I was held fast just as if God had laid His almighty hand on me."

Calvin remained and began his work with the first confession of faith on problems of ecclesiastical order, which had to be accepted on oath by the adult citizens of Geneva who wished to be admitted to the Lord's Supper.

The first answer of the city council was that Calvin was forbidden to preach. Despite this, Calvin under the protection of armed friends preached an Easter sermon against godlessness. The second answer was Calvin's dismissal from office.

As a result, Calvin went to Strasbourg, where he completed the organization of the congregation in fellowship with Martin Bucer and Johannes Sturm, and won over the Anabaptists. He married the widow of an Anabaptist, Idelette de Bure, lectured on Corinthians and Romans, edited the *Institutio* in a second edition with substantial additions, established contacts with the German reformers at Worms and Regensburg, and became friendly with Melanchthon. Finally upon request he also took over the defense of the Geneva Reformation against Cardinal Sadoleto, that is, he undertook the written reply to Sadoleto's letter, which invited the Genevans to return to the Roman Church.

Meanwhile followed the repeated recall to Geneva, to which Calvin finally acceded. The Strasbourgers released him as the chosen instrument of God, beside whom there was no second one, if another could really be named beside him. In 1541 Calvin returned to Geneva with new insights and com-

posed the Ordonnances ecclésiastiques ("Ecclesiastical Ordinances"), which had been requested by the council and were now accepted by the council.

The church is independent in its offices. It has supervision over civil discipline and education. The council must ratify the offices in the church. This means the beginning in the separation of offices - for the first time in church history - but not yet a separation of sphere. The whole congregation in its various functions of living is as such the congregation of Jesus Christ. The life of the congregation cannot be the responsibility of the pastor alone but only of the whole congregation, and this expresses itself in all functions and offices. The office of pastor is to be regarded as basically similar to the other offices held by the so-called laity. In the church the office is manifold and is divided among pastors, teachers, elders, and deacons. No office is to exercise tutelage over another; all of them together constitute the administration of the church, that is, each office is bound to the other because all offices receive their life from the unity of the office of Christ.

Calvin outlined this in a truly ingenious conception and organized it in Geneva in such a way that two offices in combination always formed an administrative group, namely, the pastors and elders the vénérable compagnie, the pastors and teachers the "Consistory." Both groups together represented the total administration of the congregation. The pastor took his place in both administrative groups but in his administrative function was doubly bound to teachers and elders. Hence the first and foremost office consists in the service of the pastor, the servant of the Word, in proclamation and the care of souls. In the church all is subordinated to this service, or it must serve this task. The office of the teacher of the church is also service for the office of the ministry, and here it is even more true that church administration has only a subordinate meaning. At all events, the pastor cannot and dare not become the head even in a secondary sense. Christ alone is the head, and does not tolerate an image here. As is well known, this was expressed symbolically as well as fundamentally in the fact that in gatherings of the ecclesiastical administration the chief chair remained

AD CAROLVM

ROMANOR VM IMPERATO.

rem Germaniæ comitia Augustæ cele= brantem, Fidei Huldrychi Zuinglij ratio.



VENITE AD ME OMNES QVI LABORATIS

Concreti estis, Cego resiciam uos.

ANNO M. D. XXX. Mense wlio.

Vincat ueritas.

Fidei ratio. Dogmatic compendium of Zwingli's theology. It was handed over to the emperor by the dean of Waldkirch in Augsburg on July, 8. The emperor represented on the title page bears the features of his predecessor and grandfather Maximilian. Printed by Froschauer in Zurich (Zurich, Central Library)

empty. The real presence of Christ also in the administration!

This church at the time of its origin and in many countries for a hundred years later was an opposition church. It pondered the relation of church and state in its essence again and again and confessed and lived this relation in its church order. According to this the church is sovereign in its own sphere. A state church as well as its government by princes is to be excluded as improper. But it is characteristic for Calvin to study not only the relation of church and state and from here the interest in civil life but in particular the relation to the world, to the world of learning, to the world of industry, to the world of social questions. No domination of the world but also no suppression by the world and no aloofness from the world in the sense of quietism (phlegmatic noninvolvement) but with all essential separation of the offices permeation of the world according to the word of Iesus: "You are the salt of the earth!"

Preaching stood at the center of public worship. Celebrations of Holy Communion were conducted provisionally only at the festival seasons: Calvin's idea was to have monthly celebrations of Communion. Beside Sunday worship one weekday service was held, during which commercial transactions came to a standstill. In addition, there was the "Congregation," a kind of Bible discussion hour for adults. House visitations were conducted several times a year by the vénérable compagnie.

In 1542 the Geneva Catechism for the youth appeared, which for the first time in the history of theology rearranges the relation of Law and Gospel to that of Gospel and Law. The entities "Law" and "Gospel" in Calvin stand neither in an exclusive relationship of past and present nor in the relationship of an always necessary preparation and main thing, of repentance and grace, but they stand in a genuine dialectical relation to each other. The Gospel is understood as the answer to the Law, and the Law can still be understood only from the Gospel – it is God's commandment in the Gospel. The formula "Law and Gospel" hence belongs to the theology of Calvin just as much as the reversed formula "Gospel and Law." Only when both are

together do they reproduce the relation of Law and Gospel in an adequate manner.

From now on, with the exception of a second minor resistance in the year 1546 and the rebellion of the physician Bolsec, the Reformation continued to make progress. In addition Calvin together with Bullinger was able to compose the Consensus Tigurinus. He was also able to exercise an influence in ecumenical breadth through a correspondence quite unprecedented in extensiveness and to draw students to Geneva from the whole world. At their service stood the Academy founded in 1559, which, for example, was also at the disposal of students from among the Waldensians. In the same year - the year of the French general synod the final edition of the Institutio appeared in four volumes as well as the French translation of the Bible, which acquired a decisive influence on the development of the French language. Moreover, Calvin continued the exegetical work which he had begun in the Strasbourg period and which embraced almost the entire Holy Scriptures. Among the reformers Calvin thus became the exegete, the systematician, the authority on church orders and church organization, and the ecumenist.

Outside the circle of his disciples Calvin's name became known for his doctrine of predestination, his doctrine on the Lord's Supper, and the church discipline practiced in Geneva, which is wrongly linked with the action against Servetus. His doctrine of predestination, insofar as it concerns the doctrine of election, is Christocentric. Among the followers of Augustine it was developed into a doctrine of double predestination with regard to election and rejection. But the doctrine of eternal rejection played almost no part at all in the sermons of Calvin. We recognize today that the doctrine of eternal rejection taught by Augustine, Calvin, and other reformers is not in accord with the testimony of Holy Scripture. The Biblical passages concerning rejection aim at the direction of the divine commission to a history-of-salvation goal, which has then been missed by the rejected person. In the sense of predestination the Word of God speaks of election and not of rejection, and statements of the Bible concerning eternal damnation are not statements on predestination but statements of punishment and as such warnings, not statements concerning the real facts. From the positive statements on election in Holy Scripture one may not draw the logical conclusion of rejection, as Augustine did for the first time. The negative side of God's predestination is a mystery, and the mystery in His revelation is called the election of grace.

Calvin's doctrine of the Lord's Supper is Christocentric-pneumatological. It is concerned with the real presence of the Lord in the Holy Spirit. Calvin resisted the idea of a natural, material interpretation of the incarnation of God in Christ and in the Lord's Supper. When reference is made to the Son's coming down to the earth, this is not to be understood to mean "that the Godhead left heaven to imprison itself in the chamber of the body but that despite the fact that it filled all things it still dwelt bodily just in the humanity of Christ, that is, in a natural and ineffable manner." This view, which was not conceived by Calvin but by Augustine and was simply applied by Calvin against certain interpretations of the humanity of God that seemed questionable to him, was later called the Extra Calvinisticum. Calvin himself utilized this doctrine for the Lord's Supper in the understanding of the real presence of Christ. With the whole Reformation he attests the real presence of Christ and distinguishes himself from the Lutheran view of this doctrine only in stressing that Christ is present in the Holy Supper in the Holy Ghost. The elements (bread and wine) as such are signs of this real presence. One must not explain and reexplain this stress on the pneumatic real presence as the acceptance of a lesser intensity of becoming present. This interpretation of the Holy Supper, too, adheres firmly to the personal presence of Christ in the Supper. When it is said that Christ is present in the Holy Ghost, it is intended that His presence should be understood as being equally as personal and intensive as the Lutheran doctrine on the bodily real presence of Christ in the Holy Supper wants to emphasize it.

As for the action against Servetus, it was an action of the state of Geneva – not of the church and not of Calvin – in accordance with the *ius Carolinum*, the law code of Charles V, the emperor of the Holy

Roman Empire of the German Nation, against the physician Servetus, who denied and reviled the Trinity. The city of Geneva, like every other state of the Holy Roman Empire, was in duty bound to apprehend heretics and to initiate proceedings against them. Servetus was fleeing to the mountains of Savoy and spent a night in Geneva. He was recognized, seized, and brought to trial. Calvin visited Servetus in prison to engage in pastoral discussions with him. Servetus steeled himself against every effort to induce him to change his mind. Before the sentence of death was passed, Calvin was asked for advice, and he advised against death by fire. The city council did not take its directions from Calvin but followed the law of the Inquisition. Servetus was burned. What took place in Calvin's Geneva once, took place a thousand times over in those days, but it took place in Geneva once too often. In recognition of this, on the 350th anniversary of the day of this execution, disciples of Calvin erected an expiatory memorial with the inscription: "From the grateful disciples of Calvin."

What shall we say in criticism of this trial of Servetus and of the relation between church and state in Geneva? This was a legal action concerning theological questions, demanded by the empire and carried out by the government of Geneva, in other words, an amalgamation between church and state - not in offices but in subject matter. On the other hand the church had authority in matters pertaining to the state - obviously in school problems of that day but also in penal retribution, for crimes against the state were avenged as sins against God. Both circumstances were the result of the investiture, which began when Otto I gave principalities to bishops and was continued when the pope, in accordance with the doctrine of the two swords, the spiritual and the secular, invested the emperor with secular power. At the end of the Middle Ages the so-called Enthusiasts, not the reformers, were the ones who insisted on a separation of church and state. Calvin carried out this separation in offices but not in subject matter too. Thus the church of Geneva, involuntarily rather than intentionally, became a factor in the power structure that threatened to become a theocracy

CATECHISMVS Ecclesia Geneuésis,

HOC EST, FORMVLA erudiendi pueros in doctrina Christi.

10. CALVINO AVTHORE.

GENEVAE. M. D. L.

Calvin's Geneva Catechism, 1550 (Geneva, Public and University Library)

and put Calvin under suspicion of being an ecclesiastical tyrant. In principle, however, Geneva was not a theocracy.

To find a successor for a man like Calvin who was of equal stature would have been a contingency such as history could parallel only with difficulty. Theodore Beza (1519–1605) became Calvin's successor. He was his pupil and became his follower. Beza was responsible for the reshaping of Calvin's doctrine of predestination with its living form into the supralapsarian schema of predestination. According to this, "before the fall into sin,"

indeed, before the creation of the world, God according to His eternal plan divided and predestinated men as elect and rejected. Thereupon He permitted the fall into sin and made arrangements for salvation. Even though the dualistic doctrine of predestination taught by Augustine and Calvin are inadequate in reproducing the Biblical statements on God's election and rejection, this systematization of God's predetermined arrangements is diametrically opposed to the Biblical report.

A nobleman by birth from Burgundy, Beza studied in Orléans and Paris, during a sickness adopted the reformed faith, and had to flee. On his flight he came to Geneva and in 1559 became rector of the newly founded Academy and as such translator, interpreter, and especially textual critic of the New Testament, which has made his name famous right down to our own day. A definitive text of the New Testament, Codex D, is called Codex Beza after him. By his brethren in the faith in France he was called "Father of the Huguenots," for he had raised the cry of resistance against the tyrants.

The worldwide significance of present-day Geneva has various reasons, which are in part also geographical and political. But one of these reasons, a background reason, so to say, lies in the significance of Calvin, this unique man, who, living on the border of his fatherland, was to become an overtowering influence for Geneva, France, Switzerland, western Europe, and the New World and whose heart above all was beating for his French brethren in the faith, in whose midst he had come to a reformed faith and from whose midst he had had to flee because of the university president's address at the Sorbonne.

The beginning of the Reformation in France lay in the hands of the humanists, especially Lefèvre d'Etaples. He concerned himself with the New Testament in French, composed a commentary on the Pauline epistles as early as 1512, and numbered among his friends members of the higher nobility, for example, the sister of Francis I, later Queen of Navarre, and also the bishop of Meaux. Farel and young Calvin belonged to this circle as theologians and were occasionally called Lutherans, or more

popularly, Huguenots. The historical meaning of the name Huguenots is shrouded in darkness. Perhaps the name is a representation of the Swiss *Eidgenossen* ("confederates under oath") in French.

Under Henry II bloody persecution and executions in mass commenced. But for all that, the congregations grew constantly and even organized themselves to form separate synods. The first French general synod met secretly in Paris in 1559, with delegates from 50 congregations. This drew up a confession of faith and produced a church order, actually the first synodical phenomenon of modern times! In the meantime, the Reformed found their support from outside through the church and Academy of Geneva but also in the circles of the French nobility who proved themselves receptive to the reformed faith. Among these Admiral Gaspard de Coligny was especially prominent. Coligny managed to become an adviser of the regent Catharine de Medici beside the Catholic chancellor Michel de l'Hospital, and in the January edict of St. Germain in 1562 he actually succeeded in securing permission for conducting reformed services in city areas outside the walls and in the country. This was secretly opposed by a triumvirate under the leadership of the Duke of Guise. The bloodbath at Vassy on March 1, 1562, took the Reformed brethren in the faith by surprise. Seventy perished in this, and 100 were wounded.

In reply to this bloody act the Reformed took up arms under the leadership of Coligny. The Catholics called on Spain for help, and the Reformed turned to Elizabeth of England. The Peace Edict of Amboise of the year 1563 brought this first religious war to a close and guaranteed Reformed congregational life to many cities.

A second term of unrest flared up out of mistrust of the Reformed, and a third resulted from the hatred of the court so that an edict was proclaimed in 1568 that forbade every Reformed service and ordered the Reformed pastors to leave the land within two weeks. As a result, Coligny mustered

a new army, marched on Paris, and induced the regent to sign the peace of St. Germain. In 1571 the French general synod met again in La Rochelle.

Thus we see the Reformation, which in France as in Germany combined with politics, making powerful progress especially in the political sphere under the leadership of Coligny, so that it could even look after the Reformed in Belgium. Then Catharine de Medici had recourse to a frightful coup de main, in which the clergy of the Reformed fell victims to one blow. On August 24, 1572, on the so-called Night of St. Bartholomew, 4,000 Huguenots were attacked by assassins in Paris alone and massacred. At the sight of the dead, Catharine was incautious enough to say: "The blood of the Huguenots smells good." When the news reached Rome, the pope had a Te Deum sung and a medal struck of which many copies were made. Not until four years later were people ready to discontinue the persecution. In 1576 the Edict of Beaulieu was signed. Already in 1585, however, every Frenchman had to pledge himself to the Catholic faith again. In the meantime the Reformed Henry of Navarre had ascended the throne as Henry IV. He changed over to the Catholic faith but in 1598 was able to bring into effect the Toleration Edict of Nantes, which permitted Reformed services, admitted Huguenots to public offices, created equal legal rights, allowed the founding of Reformed schools and academies, and conceded synods the right to meet. In 1610 the king had to pay with his life for his sense of justice and political action. He was murdered. In this way the final sentence of the Huguenot confession of faith found its requital: "We abhor all who are inclined to reject secular authority and who would overthrow the orderly administration of justice."

The French people had to pay dearly for the blood letting suffered in the persecutions of the Huguenots of that time and in their subsequent expulsion under Louis XIV, and in reality they have not recovered to this day. France lost people who were numbered among her best, and as refugees these became a blessing to other lands.

PAUL JACOBS

The Candlestick: The light of the gospel was rekindled by all the reformers. Dutch engraving of the 17th century (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum)



View of Constance. From "The Christian Lutheran Presents: Events in Church History of the Year 1370 and What Has Happened Since That Time," 1717 (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)



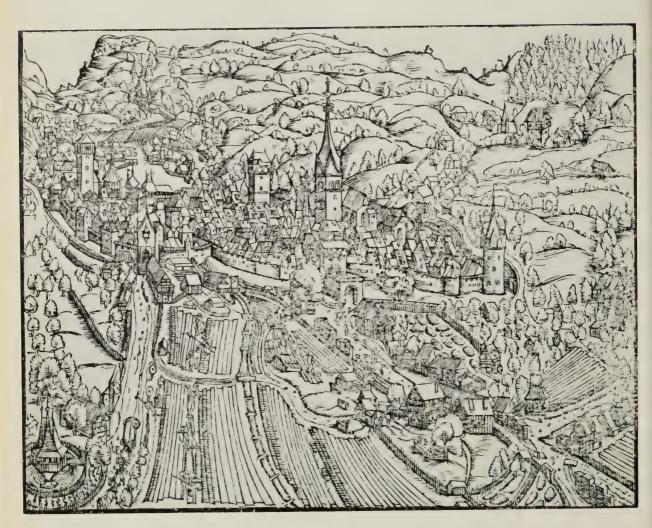
Calvinistic pamphlet against the papacy. A mural of 1401 in the Dominican monastery in Geneva served as model (Geneva, Public Library)



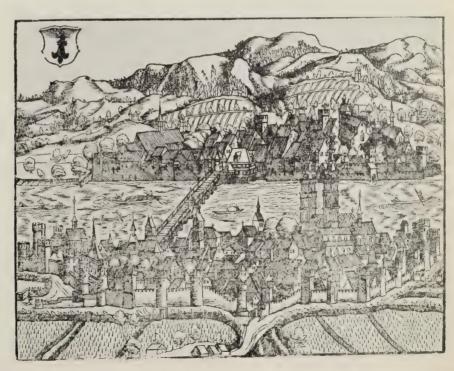
Below: View of St. Gall. Woodcut from the "Swiss Chronicle" by Johann Stumpf, Zurich, 1606 (Leipzig, University Library)

Above, right: Diploma announcing Zwingli's appointment as chaplain in Einsiedeln by Diebold von Geroldseck on April 14, 1516 (Zurich, Central Library)

Below, right: View of Basel. Woodcut from the "Swiss Chronicle" by Johann Stumpf, Zurich, 1606 (Leipzig, University Library)



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View of Einsiedeln. Engraving by Matthäus Merian. From *Topographia Helvetiae*, Frankfort on the Main, 1654 (Zurich, Central Library)

Bonerkiesen und

fryseit der spysen. Gon ergernus vn

verböserung.
Db man gwalt hab die spysezü
etlichen zyten verbieten/ meynung Huldriche Buing
lie zu Gutter geprediger im (O.S.XXII Aar



Chriftus Wathei.XI. Kumend zu mir alle die arbeitend ond Beladen find/ond ich willich tuw machen.

Def walt Got:



Above: Title page of "On the Choice and Liberty of Foods; Regarding Giving and Taking Offense." Published 1522 after the Lenten controversy in Zurich. Under the figure of Christ with the crown of thorns is Zwingli's favorite Bible passage, Matt. 11:28 (Zurich, Central Library)

Below: Zwingli's chalice in Glarus. Inscription: Calix Uly Zwingli, 1516 (Zurich, Swiss National Museum)

15.28 mad vo fad von got. Lirbfor hoston is far got danst das or dire sin feolister about while hast. Dre walls ins dit was finan willow zo reziohan walihan. (Bick minte baly i odre y hirogly follower mass vo mys als du sig reaght. Sig Kimpt zimling dorg mir barigating mass wit by mailure forgan from boschreiban have. The sine vid ins allow ibbe dir mass guarlist. Bis his mix got brushan. Granty mis Sant (chafferin: Aman trintele: I shalthing offingrain vid we die hirt for bist got fine mirs vi ing all. Gob 30 Borns Xi lags formers. Grush mir alle dine Kind. befonde Margiothe rist in simil mainter. uldriges Zmight Bick mind so bald du Monte den Tolgon

Holy Communion in the Church of Our Lady in Zurich. Copper engraving of the 17th century (Zurich, Central Library)



Un trofione Minior Coux ice difent la Liturgie alternativement.

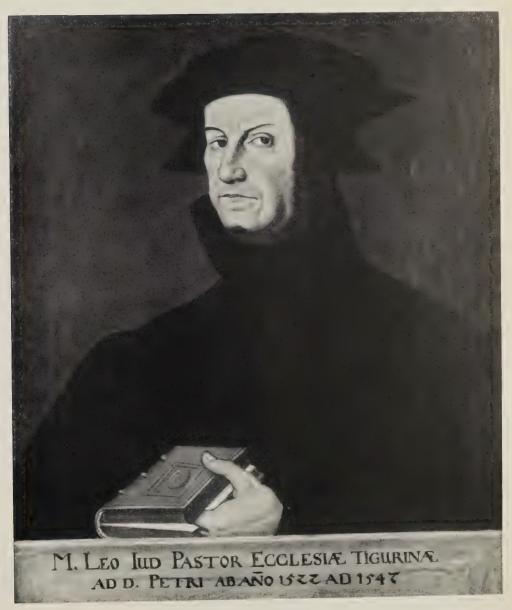
CONSECRATION + ACTION de GRACES la COMMUNION à ZURICH. D. D.D. D. . Ministeres et Cardians abound trans,

a service.
F. le Marsuillier
F. artie du choras de l'Colore du Tran Muntier



Left: Title page of the Old Testament. Printed in Zurich at Christoph Froschauer's, 1525, an edition that follows Luther's translation. With 12 pictures from Genesis (Zurich, Central Library)

Right: Leo Jud (1482–1542). Portrait by a contemporary artist (Zurich, Central Library)



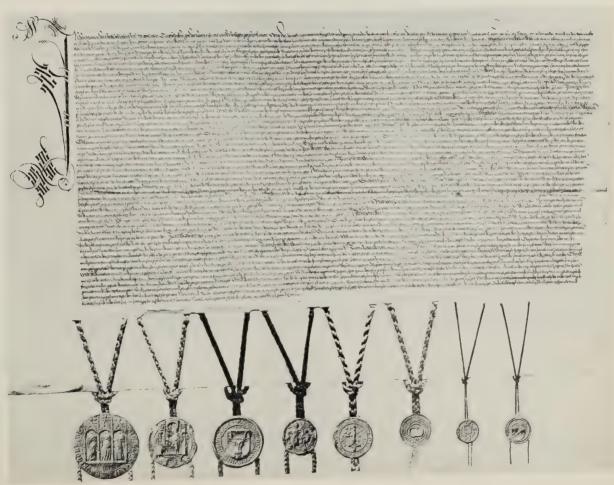




Above: Battle of Kappel. Woodcut from the "Swiss Chronicle" by Johann Stumpf, Zurich, 1606 (Leipzig, University Library)

Below: According to tradition: Zwingli's helmet and sword in the battle of Kappel (Zurich, Swiss National Museum)

Diploma of the so-called Second Treaty of Kappel between Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, and Zurich, signed at Deinikon and Zug Nov. 20, 1531 (Zurich, State Archives)



HENRICUS BULLINGERUS.

Nat-1 200 e. d. 20. Iuly . Don 1. 2575 . d. 27 . Septembry.

Ex collectione Friderici Roth - Scholtzii, Norimberg.



Heinrich Bullinger (1504–1575). Pastor and successor of Zwingli at the Church of Our Lady in Zurich. Contemporary copper engraving (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)

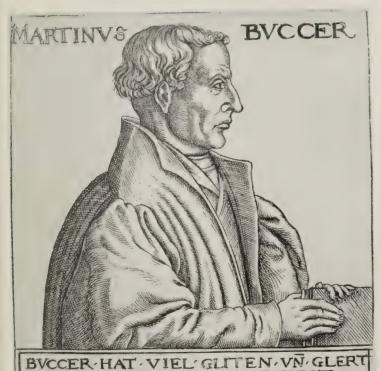


Johannes Oecolampadius (1482–1531). In 1529 cathedral preacher and participant in the Marburg Colloquy. Painting by Hans Asper (Basel, Public Collection of Art)



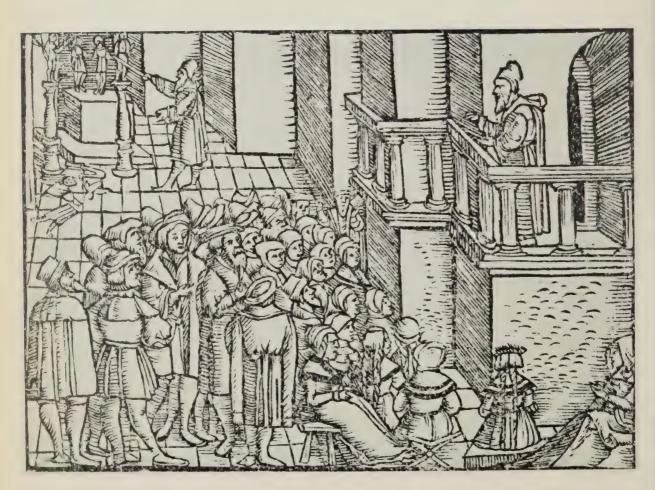
Above: Franz von Sickingen (1481-1523). Copper engraving by Daniel Hopfer (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)

Below: Martin Bucer (1491–1551). Preacher in Strasbourg and participant in the Marburg Colloquy. Author of the Tetrapolitana. Woodcut by B. Jenichen (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)



ENGELANT HAT ER AVCH BEKERT DAR IST BEGRABE NACH SEIM ENDT AVCH WIDE AVEGRABEN VN VERBRENT ABER DIE KÖNGIN LOBESAN HAT DIE ASCH EHRLICH BSTATTEN LAN







Above: John Calvin. Drawing by a student made during a lecture. From *Compendium Roberti Gaguini super Francorum gestis* (Geneva, Public Library)

Below: Close of Calvin's letter to Luther of Jan. 21, 1545 (Geneva, Public Library)



Left: Jacob Faber (Faber Stapulensis), 1455–1536. Eminent humanist who influenced Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli. Author of a French translation of the New Testament (1523) and the Psalms (1525). Copper engraving (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)

Right: Theodore Beza (1519–1605). Reformed theologian, preacher, and professor. In France 1561–1563. Successor to Calvin in Geneva (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)



IACOBVS FABER, stapulenfis.
Barbariem mmanem primus, Doctis fime FABER,
Propulsas, artes restituíque bonas?
Te primum celebris vidit lutetia guondam,
Sed tua ta pietas expulit indeprocul.





Caricature of Calvin, painted by Guiseppe Arcimboldi, 1566. Brought to Sweden from Prague during the Thirty Years' War (Gripsholm Castle)





Above, left: Papal medal commemorating the night of St. Bartholomew (Photo – Wittenberg, Archives of the Luther Museum)

Below, left: The Night of St. Bartholomew, Aug. 24, 1572. Contemporary woodcut (Photo – Wittenberg, Archives of the Luther Museum)

Right: Catherine de Medici. Contemporary woodcut (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)





The Turk - The Lutherans' Lucky Star

AUSTRIA

In the Reformation period the hereditary domains of Austria belonged to the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. In political, ecclesiastical, economic, and legal respects they resembled the German principalities. In regard to the antagonism between prince and the estates, which was becoming more and more acute, they also proved to be no exception, for in the 16th century the transformation to a principality under absolute rule was carried out on all sides. But these hereditary domains, the two archduchies "above and below the Enns" (Upper and Lower Austria), the duchies Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, the county of Tyrol and the so-called "forelands" (Breisgau and estates in Alsace) constituted the private possessions of the Habsburgs. They stood in a decidedly close relation to the German king, or emperor. Modern Burgenland, however, belonged to Hungary, and Salzburg, city and province, was a sovereign archbishopric till 1803.

The individual groups of territories were governed from the capitals of the territories. For the archduchies these were Vienna and Linz; for Tyrol, Vorarlberg, and the western "forelands," Innsbruck; for Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, Graz. At the head of each territory stood a governor. He governed together with representatives from the estates at diets. His decisions, of course, were tied to the instructions received from the imperial government in Vienna, or, in the time of Rudolph II, in Prague. The estates were divided into four groups: the clergy, the upper nobility

("lords"), the lower nobility ("knights"), and the representatives of the cities. In Tyrol the peasants also had a seat and a vote at the diets. The so-called "crown land" (Salzkammergut, the sovereign domains, and crown cities) were immediately subordinate to the governor.

The ecclesiastical supremacy lay chiefly with the bishopric of Salzburg and the subordinate bishopric of Passau. The parishes were either crown, manorial, or clerical.

As was the case everywhere in Europe, the ground was prepared for the Reformation by the humanism cultivated at the universities and especially by the universal longing for ecclesiastical reforms. Besides, Waldensian influences, Hussite ideas, which filtered in across the Bohemian frontiers, and Anabaptist catchwords that came over from Switzerland were also active in Austria.

The beginnings of the Reformation in Austria are something like those in Germany. Personal relations promoted the dissemination of Luther's writings and provided the best publicity for the Wittenberg professor. Immediately "preachers" here and there prepared the way for the Gospel. That the University of Vienna for almost six months deferred the publication of the bull which threatened Luther with excommunication is very likely nothing more than an indication of humanistic toleration.

The first independent reformatory writing appeared in Vienna as early as 1521, Joachim Vadian's "A Short Summary on How to Learn to Know

Almighty God and How the New Gods Have Arisen." In January 1522 the Würzburg prelate Paul Speratus preached on Rom. 12:1 in the cathedral of St. Stephan against the celibacy of the clergy to the approval of many citizens. On Sept. 17, 1524, one of the latter, Kaspar Tauber, was beheaded and burnt. In the years immediately following the blood of the martyrs still flowed freely. But the majority of those executed belonged to the Anabaptists, who combined religious with social aims. In Upper Austria the execution of the priest Leonhard Keyser, a disciple of Luther, at Schärding in the vicinity of Passau in 1527 aroused special attention.

The Protestant faith kept on spreading in ever wider circles. It gained an entrance among the nobility when Christoph Jörger, the son of the governor of Upper Austria, who at that time was residing at the electoral court at Torgau, was won over by Luther's "September-Bible" of 1522. The young man made a personal application to Luther for a preacher. The latter reached Castle Tollet in 1525. This was Michael Stiefel, who was also known as a mathematician. He made such a success of things that a number of other "lords" in both archduchies, in Styria and Carinthia, also found ways and means of getting Lutheran court preachers for themselves. The Catholic clergy first turned to the Gospel in the cities. In Carinthia's later capital Klagenfurt, which completely burned down in 1514 and whose bold reconstruction attracted many artisans from Germany, it was these immigrants who spread the new religious faith in lay fashion. Elsewhere, in the Alpine regions, miners from Saxony made propaganda for Lutheranism. Many monasteries also proved to be vulnerable. In the Tyrolean monastery of Stams, for example, a commission of inquiry found numerous Lutheran books and "tracts" as early as 1524. After the embargo, their further dispatch became possible only with much trouble because the peasants of the area made attempts to hinder it. Since the Catholic Church of that period was powerless over against the dangerous innovations, the combating of the latter fell to the lot of the reigning prince, who had control of the secular arm (bracchium saeculare), that is, of the police and the courts.



View of Castle Tollet. Engraving by Matthäus Merian. From Topographia Provinciarum Austriacarum, Frankfort on the Main, 1649

In 1521 Ferdinand (1556-1564 as Emperor Ferdinand I) had assumed the government of the Austrian hereditary domains. Already in March 1523 he issued a prohibition against the dissemination of Luther's, Oecolampadius' (Basel), and Zwingli's (Zurich) writings. His adviser was Dr. Johannes Faber, vicar general of Constance and later bishop of Vienna. In 1523 he had come forward against Zwingli in the first "Colloquy" in Zurich. But he had more success as a church politician. The Regensburg Regulation (1524) became the standard in the battle for the faith. This was an edict agreed upon by the ecclesiastical princes of the South German areas together with the Habsburgs and Wittelsbachs to combat the new heresy. It was rounded out in a positive way by the socalled constitution of the cardinal legate Campeggio, in which 38 points enjoined improvement in the attitude of the clergy.

But the continuous Turkish peril and the emperor's wars gave the estates the opportunity to attach their votes of money to conditions which, in spite of the Edict of Worms, were aimed at the guarantee of freedom in religious worship. Although Ferdinand, on the basis of the agreement made about the succession in 1515, had to take over all onerous duties in the East together with its privileges after the battle of Mohács and the death of the king of Hungary, Louis II, he still made continuous efforts to get rid of the religious dissension. In 1527 he published a basic mandate from Buda in which he ordered all clerical and secular authorities of his territories to carry out the Edict of Worms. Lutheran books were forbidden anew. The Regensburg Regulation was again enjoined. The mandate took an especially strict attitude against the Swiss line of the Reformation and the Anabaptists. Every heretic was to be placed under the ban and executed. In 1528 Ferdinand instituted a church visitation that brought to light unpleasant conditions within the Catholic Church but at the same time revealed that the Reformation had already made great advances.

In the meantime the Turks moved against Vienna. Even though it was possible to repulse them in 1529, the enemy remained in Hungary and continued to fill men's hearts with terror. This mili-

tary peril from the southeast, which was at the same time a threat to the Christian faith, in a paradoxical manner turned out to be a blessing for Protestants because it tied Ferdinand's hands. "The Turk is the Lutherans' lucky star," the Catholics used to say for a long time afterwards. Thus the Lutherans of Austria were also able to set up as their own confession of faith the Augsburg Confession, presented to the Diet of Augsburg in 1530 by the Protestant estates of the German Empire. In the future their pastors had to take an oath on this. The demands of the estates for evangelical preaching and better theology became more and more pressing. In a memorial to the governor of March 18, 1538, reference is expressly made to "justification by faith." The estates demanded the Lord's Supper in both kinds (that is, bread and wine). On the other hand, the visitation of 1544 revealed the complete decline of the papal church in Austria. But politics played the decisive role. The emperor's victory in the Schmalkaldic War naturally had its effects also in the hereditary domains of the Habsburgs and gradually ruined the Austrian Protestants' hopes of bringing to pass a favorable settlement of the religious question.

Ferdinand published one severe rescript after the other. In 1551 the sale of Lutheran books as well as the appointment of schoolmasters who had not been examined by the competent bishop was forbidden. A mandate of June 5, 1553, made provisions for the reform of the University of Vienna, whose theological faculty had in the meantime suffered the loss of professors and students in a body. For despite a prohibition of the reigning prince the Protestant nobility sent its sons to study at the Protestant universities at Wittenberg, Jena, and Rostock. In 1554 participation in the Lord's Supper in both kinds was abolished, and Catholic confession as well as attendance at Mass at least once a year were made obligatory.

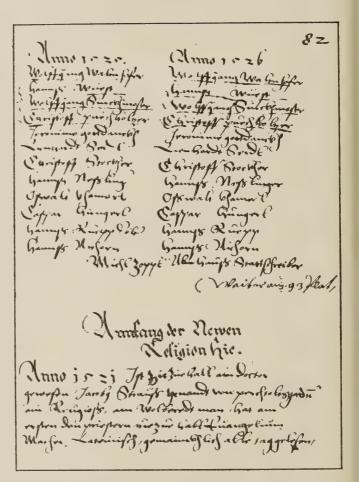
The Peace of Augsburg (1555), which left the choice of religious confession to the reigning prince but not to the individual subjects, would have been the deathblow for the Protestantism of the hereditary territories, if the reigning prince would have been able to carry the day against the lords and knights. But Ferdinand was dependent

on their money grants for the war against the Turk. Indeed, he had to make attempts to restrict even emigration for religious reasons as much as possible so that the land might not be denuded of people. This happened often enough in any case. Among others, the prominent governor of Styria, Hans Ungnad von Sonneck, for example, resigned from his position in 1556 because as a Protestant he was not willing to assume the execution of his ruler's mandates and went into voluntary exile to Württemberg.

Ferdinand himself tried to make his influence effective even beyond his death. His oldest son Maximilian, the successor to the throne, came under suspicion of inclining toward the new doctrine. In Sebastian Pfauser he even had a Protestant court preacher, and by his obstinacy he obtained the pope's personal permission to receive the Lord's Supper under both forms. According to the division of the inheritance drawn up by Ferdinand already in 1554, Maximilian, apart from the imperial dignity, received only Upper and Lower Austria (apart from Bohemia and Hungary). His brother Archduke Ferdinand II became lord of the Tyrol and the forelands, and the youngest, Charles, ruled Inner Austrian territories, that is, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola (now in Jugoslavia), and Gorizia (now in Italy).

Hence, for the following decades the fate of individual Protestants in Austria depended on the rulers to whom their homeland had happened to be assigned.

In Upper and Lower Austria the Protestant estates, making use of the Turkish danger and the religious wars in France and the Netherlands, which were so appalling for the emperor, succeeded in obtaining the "religious concession" in 1568 in return for an unusually high taxation grant. This concession stated that to both estates of lords and knights the Unaltered Augsburg Confession of 1530 "is allowed and forgiven until the eternal, divine Omnipotence by means of the regular Christian media may have achieved and established a completely catholic settlement of the same matters of faith in the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, or His Majesty should bring to a desirable conclusion the work begun toward a complete and



A page of written record of the chronicle of the city of Hall by Franz Schweyger concerning the beginnings of the Protestant faith there, 1520–1522 (Hall, City Museum)

fully universal religion for the kingdom, hereditary principality, and lands." The cities and market towns of the royal crown lands were excepted from the rights guaranteed. In addition, it was established that the Catholic religion must not be reviled or attacked and that its adherents must not be harmed in any way. A liturgy as well as a church order were also demanded. This "Christian church liturgy in use among the lords and knights in the Archduchy of Austria below the Enns" was drawn up by the Rostock professor David Chyträus (a theologian of the Melanchthonian stamp) with the assistance of the castle chaplain of Rosenburg, Christoph Reuter. On Jan. 14, 1571, the emperor finally issued the "deed security." Whether Protestant church services, at which Protestant citizens could also have taken part in public worship, were to be permitted also in the city houses of the nobility was left an open question.

In 1574 the nobility succeeded in obtaining permission from Maximilian II to hold public Protestant church services in Vienna, the capital.

What Maximilian II had guaranteed in Lower Austria he was likewise compelled to grant to the lords and knights of Upper Austria on Dec. 7, 1568. Hence analogous circumstances developed here. In 1574 the emperor approved of their own liturgy for the Upper Austrians and in 1578 of their church order.

On the one hand, then, Maximilian II countenanced the Protestants and brooked no interference in this connection from his Spanish relatives or the pope. On the other hand, however, he opposed every attempt to secure the Protestant church organizationally by means of a consistorium and superintendents.

In this flourishing period of Austrian Protestantism there also arose famous Protestant provincial schools with instruction in Latin in Graz, Klagenfurt, Linz, and Loosdorf (Lower Austria). But a training institution for theologians was lacking. Protestant pastors were recommended from outside, mostly from Regensburg. Because the superintendent there, Nikolaus Gallus, was an adherent of the extreme Lutheran Matthias Vlasič (called Flacius Illyricus), Flacianism kept on gaining a firmer footing here. Thereby an intellectual cleav-

age was fostered in Protestantism that was destined to have ominous results in the Counter-Reformation under the leadership of the Jesuits after the death of Maximilian II on Oct. 12, 1576.

The successor of Maximilian II in the government was his son Rudolph II, who had been brought up in Spain as a Jesuit. To the strict Catholic the existence of Protestantism seemed like an abominable attack on his rights conferred by the grace of God. This enmity was also nourished by close links with the Catholic court of Bavaria.

At first the measures emanating from Prague, Rudolph's residence as German emperor, limited themselves to the regulation of the guaranteed freedoms in the case of public infringements. In spite of this, Rudolph's brother and viceroy in Upper and Lower Austria, Archduke Ernest, did not dare to publish penal edicts. But Rudolph, at whose succession the estates of Lower Austria had in 1577 rendered homage purely on the basis of verbal promises, adopted severer measures and expelled certain preachers from Vienna. At this stage Archduke Ernest dealt with those citizens who transgressed the prohibitions of their ruler by taking part in the Protestant services in the houses of the nobility of Vienna as well as by excursions to Hernals (now a suburb of Vienna) and to Inzersdorf. Higher positions were again filled by Catholics. All Protestant officials were dismissed. The Protestant population became intimidated inasmuch as the nobility did not show themselves prepared to take any final action. The year 1580 brought decisive events. At this time the Catholic minority from among the estates combined and formed the nucleus for a party of the nobles to bolster the government. But the Protestant estates tried to form a firmer organization for themselves and to call a superintendent. They failed. The theological controversies between the Austrian Philippists (Melanchthonians) and the Flacianists increased, and no commanding churchman could be found. The Catholic Church, on the other hand, at this time found a leading light in Melchior Khlesl, a baker's son and a former Viennese Protestant, who, in addition, developed the zeal of a convert. He became provost of St. Stephan's Cathedral and chancellor of the university and later official representative of the bishop of Passau, bishop of Vienna in 1598, and finally a cardinal. He did not only adopt systematic measures against the Protestants but also tried to abolish the abuses of his diocese in accordance with the decisions of the Council of Trent. This most likely brought upon him the hatred of many from his own circle and the departments of state. But for all that he steered the Counter-Reformation in Lower Austria from success to success.

In 1590 Archduke Matthias took the place of Archduke Ernest in Upper and Lower Austria. A new war with the Turks as well as an uprising of the peasants, which began in Upper Austria in 1595 and also spread over parts of Lower Austria, postponed catastrophe for the Protestants of the archduchy for a little while.

The Protestants had concluded a secret defensive alliance in 1579. Its illustrious leader as the counterpart of Khlesl was Georg Erasmus von Tschernembl, who on his great gentleman's tour had become a Calvinist in Geneva and who was to prove his worth later as a Huguenot (on the Schwertberg in Mühlviertel). In the growing Turkish peril the Upper Austrian estates made him their spokesman.

The uprising of the peasants which the unjust division of burdens had kindled also resisted the forcible re-Catholicization. For this reason the Protestant lords had at first sympathized with the peasants. Finally, however, they saw that they were still compelled to fight against their rebellious subjects. Tschernembl tried to mediate, but he was unable to cope with the demands of the peasants. So their uprising came to a bloody end. The religious tragedy took its course. The government pursued a purposive course. One city after another got its turn, but in Linz the battle raged with special fury. Both sides had made good preparations here, the Catholics by calling in the Jesuits, the estates, who had a committee in permanent session, inasmuch as they appointed Tschernembl a government representative in 1599. Tschernembl strengthened the backbone of the Protestant lords, knights, citizens, and peasants by a little tract on the subjects' right of resistance against their ruler (De resistentia subditorum adversus principem legitima,



Protestant citizens of Vienna flocking to Lutheran services at Hernals. Contemporary view (Vienna, Picture Archives of the National Library)

1600). The violent battle in Linz ended in 1601 with the victory of the ruling prince and thereby of Catholicism. The opposition of the Protestants in upper Austrian Salzkammergut to the appointment of Catholic priests was put down one year later with the help of troops from Salzburg.

In the following years a certain stabilization of the situation in Upper Austria was achieved.

After the Peace of Vienna in 1606, which guaranteed Hungary's religious liberty, it finally became possible to unite the Protestant estates of Upper and Lower Austria. These were joined under Karl von Zierotin, the leader of the Unity of the Brethren, by the estates of Moravia because they felt that their hitherto existing religious Liberty was threatened by Rudolph II. Connections were also established with the leader of the Bohemian Protestant nobility, Peter Wok von Rosenberg. In spite of the differences in religion Archduke Matthias allied himself with the Austrian, the Hungarian, and the Bohemian-Moravian estates against his brother Rudolph II. The measures of government adopted by the emperor, who lived secluded from the world and was in all likelihood mentally sick as well, caused him to take this step. Finally, however, Rudolph II made peace with Matthias, in 1608 ceded Hungary, Moravia, as well as Austria to him, and assured him of the expectancy of the Bohemian crown (the treaty of Lieben-Prague, 1608).

To the Austrian Protestants it was clear that in religious respects they could not rely on Matthias. For this reason, barely a week after the treaty, in the camp of the archduke, the Hungarian, Moravian, and Austrian envoys in a secret agreement promised each other mutual protection and help in the defense of their liberties and privileges. But Moravia was the first of the confederates to allow herself to be detached; Hungary followed. But in the end Matthias had to accept the stipulation to confirm their religious liberties as well as to reopen churches and schools in the country and in the cities which Tschernembl had set up as a prerequisite for doing homage at his succession and which had already been put into effect in Linz. The reason for this was that the Austrians threatened that they would otherwise turn again to Rudolph. On March 19, 1609, Matthias guaranteed the "Capitulation," which granted to the lords and knights, their families and subjects, the religious liberties they possessed by virtue of the concession of Emperor Maximilian II. The religious liberty demanded for the cities was not granted until March 3, 1610. The solution was therefore not satisfactory.

The Protestantism of Upper and Lower Austria, it is true, now experienced a short period of bloom. But the shock waves which the Thirty Years' War sent also towards Austria soon brought this second spring to a close. This was sealed by the provisions of the Peace of Westphalia.

In Inner Austria, the domain of Charles, developments were similar to those in Upper and Lower Austria, but Maximilian II was probably more sincere in the matter of religious liberty than his younger brother. But for all that, the latter guaranteed the Religious Pacification of Bruck/Mur in 1572. The church order of David Chyträus was declared binding at the General Diet at Bruck in 1578 and adopted in the religious pacification. Protestant schools were established here too.

In 1571 Archduke Charles had married Maria of Wittelsbach, and thus the court of Graz became dependent on that of Munich. Already in the next year Jesuits came from Ingolstadt to Graz and established a foundation with seven fathers. To be sure, at the Diet of 1576 and once more at the General Diet at Bruck two years later, the archduke was compelled to declare that he would keep what he had promised. Thus in 1578, on the demand of the Protestants, he had expressly stated that every individual, whether of high or low estate, in cities, market towns, or in the country, who accepted the Augsburg Confession could remain untroubled and unmolested. No one was to be burdened in his conscience. But the Protestants were so imprudent as not to obtain this assurance in writing.

A year and a half later Charles broke his word. He was influenced from three sources, his brother Ferdinand, the Roman Curia, and the Wittelsbachs. He now renounced a part of his promises and above all the guarantee of religious liberty in the cities and market towns. For this reason the free practice of religion on the part of the citizens was

repeatedly prevented by force. In the guerrilla war which followed, the Protestants, it is true, were also guilty of tactical blunders. The open battle began at the Diet of 1580. The Protestant knights and lords who formed a clear majority brought forward their complaints concerning government encroachments of recent times. But Charles flatly forbade the practice of the Protestant religion in the cities and market towns. Only in Graz two preachers were allowed to stay so that they might be available for the worship of the lords and knights at their country estates.

The expulsion of citizens from Graz soon followed. It is true, they could postpone their departure for months and even for years. The Protestants in Leoben were forbidden to go out to worship with the mine workers in Eisenerz under the protection of the nobles. In 1585 the Jesuit college in Graz received the rank of a university. In 1586 a Catholic became governor. After this the commissions for religious reformation traveled through the land, still without military support, but adopting measures that were rigorous enough. In congregations that had been Protestant for decades they appointed Catholic priests. Attempts were made to break down the opposition, which was now and then armed resistance, by means of imprisonments, money fines, and even by refusal of cemeteries. In 1588 the Catholic citizen's oath was introduced and the free election of judges abolished. Accordingly, the Counter-Reformation was going at full speed when Archduke Charles died in 1590. It was continued by ecclesiastical authorities.

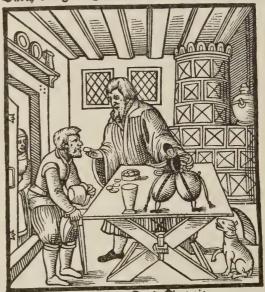
Charles' minor son Ferdinand (1619–1637 as Emperor Ferdinand II) had been trained by the Jesuits and did not become ruler of the land until 1596. A bigot whose attitude was determined by the Wittelsbachs, though rather a genial man by nature, he became the gravedigger of Protestantism in his country.

On the Protestant side the fighters of the older generation were either no longer alive or had emigrated or were weary of the battle. Even the example of Upper and Lower Austria, where the Protestants had taken up arms, was ineffective with them. Æigentliche Abcontrafehung einer newen vnerhörten Monstrangen:

Darinnen Magister Maximilianus Viber/ Lutherischer Puedicans/die Partickel und Oblaten für

feine Communicanten / wie ein Gauckelman / im Land Defterreich und Stept/leichtfertig herumb getragen: Sampt angehengten fibengehen wichtigen Warnungvesachen / daß fich jedermenigklich für dem Lutherischen Nachtmal und Communion mit allem Rieiß und Ernst hüten soll-

Durch Georgium Scherer/Societ. Issy Theologum.



Ingolftadt ben Dauid Sartorio.
Anno Domini M. D. LXXXVIII.

Preacher Maximilian Biber secretly administering Holy Communion. He is described as traveling about like a "juggler," with his Communion paraphernalia hidden in a puppet. Illustration for a polemical pamphlet by the Jesuit Georg Scherer, Ingolstadt, 1588 (Vienna, National Library)

But Ferdinand went ahead in an active manner. In 1598 all Protestant school and church work in the cities had to cease; the preachers and teachers were expelled within eight days.

Among these was the professor of mathematics at the provincial school at Graz, the Swabian Johannes Kepler. He was given permission to return, presumably because of the favor he enjoyed at the court and also among the Jesuits. But finally he withdrew from the uncertain and humiliating position in Graz and in 1600 accepted an invitation of the astronomer Tycho Brahe to come to Prague-Benatek. In 1612 he accepted a call to the Protestant provincial school in Linz until the Counter-Reformation drove him away from there too. In 1599 Ferdinand cynically set aside everything the Styrian nobility had brought forward concerning its rights of religious liberty. "Rather rule over a wilderness, go forth to beg with wife and child, suffer one's body to be chopped to pieces, than to tolerate violation of the church, heresy!" This was his confession as a ruler. Armed men were attached from now on to the commissions for religious reform. Plundered parsonages, trampled down churchyards, devastated churches were the signs of their progress. The dragonnades ruined those who were struck, and they were often enough punished with imprisonment in addition.

The confiscation and burning of books aimed at the extermination of the Protestant faith. The keystone was set by the order issued to all citizens of Graz to attend a Catholic service in the parish church within three days under penalty of a fine of a hundred ducats. With the exception of a hundred persons all complied. Sixty-one of the faithful eventually emigrated. They belonged to the aggregate of 2500 Protestants who emigrated from Styria.

In 1601 the Protestant preachers, preceptors, scribes, and schoolmasters were expelled from all of the territories of Inner Austria. Then followed the strict prohibition to seek "the poisonous and harmful practice of the A. C." (Augsburg Confession) outside of the country. Protestant citizenship was given its deathblow. Even though the return to the old faith may often enough have been merely something external, the young generation

still eventually became Catholic. The Protestant faith maintained itself secretly for centuries in mountain valleys that were difficult of access. Its spiritual reserves it had in the sermon books and prayer books that were smuggled in from the Protestant part of Germany.

It is characteristic of Tyrol that Anabaptism spread here among the peasants but that the nobility for the greater part remained Catholic. In the second half of the century Lutheranism reached certain cities through immigrants. Archduke Ferdinand II, whose court chaplain from 1571 to 1573 was Petrus Canisius, the first German Jesuit, forcibly suppressed everything that was not Catholic and tried to support the Roman Church by reforms in little things. In 1593 the Capuchins also established their first monastery on German soil in Innsbruck and carried on mission work among the people. When Ferdinand II died in 1595, he could make the boast that he had won back Tyrol for Catholicism. The Lutheran faith maintained itself only in the high mountain valleys and only in those territories which belonged to the archbishopric of Salzburg. Here, surprisingly enough, measures were taken with less severity against the Protestants, under the mild regime of Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau already at the end of the 16th century. This was also true during the Thirty Years' War under Archbishop Paris Lodron, who tacitly allowed his Lutheran miners to conduct common services. Not until about 1670 were a large number of Protestants ferreted out by the episcopal authorities in a place called Deffereggental in the eastern Tyrol, and in 1684-1686 about a thousand people were expelled to southern Germany. They had to leave their children behind. Shortly afterwards Lutheran miners were exiled from the neighborhood of Hallein, among them the famous Josef Schaitberger. It was not till the 18th century that about 20,000 secret Protestants of Salzburg were driven from their homeland to find a new home, in part, in East Prussia. Fifty years after the edict of toleration issued by the Emperor Joseph II, in 1837, another 450 people from the Zillertal Alps who had been assigned to the diocese of Salzburg had to leave their homeland because of their Protestant attitude.

In Vorarlberg, because of the complex ecclesiastical conditions and above all because of the influence of the bishopric of Chur, Ferdinand II was not able to put into effect measures similar to those taken in the Tyrol. Here Calvinistic preachers were to be found repeatedly. A change was only brought about at the beginning of the 17th century by the mission of the Capuchins. Finally the Minorites in common with the Jesuits completely rooted out the Protestant faith.

In this way Catholicism remained the victor in

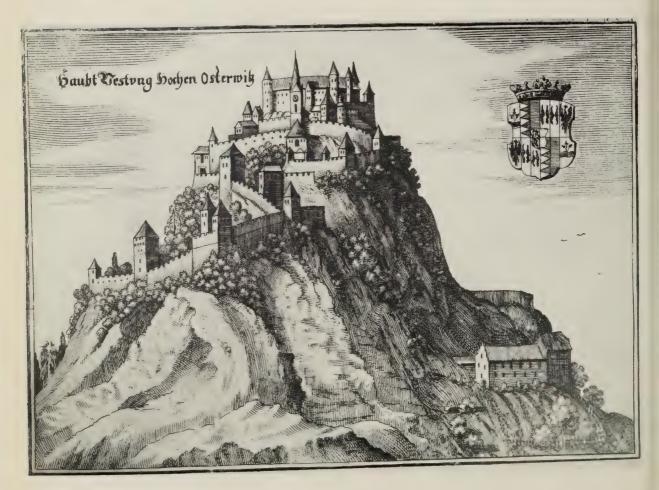
Austria. In no country of Europe where the Protestant faith had gained a footing was it repressed to such an extent as was the case in the hereditary lands of the Habsburgs. Only in remote congregations in the mountains and illegally did the Protestant faith maintain itself. How widespread, indeed, this secret Protestantism was, is shown in the first year after Joseph II issued his charter of toleration in 1781, when, to the unpleasant surprise of the authorities, 73,000 confessed the Protestant faith in the Austrian lands.

ERWIN E. SCHNEIDER

Salzburg. Bird's-eye view of the city. In the background Fort Hohensalzburg, in the foreground the old cathedral. Colored drawing (Hans Paumann?), 1553 (Salzburg, Archabbey of St. Peter)



Fort Hochosterwitz. Residence of the Protestant Khevenhüller family in Carinthia. Engraving from Merian's Topographia Provinciarum Austriacarum, 1649 (Vienna, Picture Archives of the National Library)





Paul Speratus (1484–1551). Preacher in Dinkelsbühl, Würzburg, Salzburg, and Vienna. In 1524 court preacher in Königsberg, in 1529 bishop of Pomesania. Contemporary copper engraving, 1522 (?) (Vienna, Portrait Collection of the Austrian National Library)



Left: Illustration from the Schweyger chronicle of Hall (Tirol), in which Franz Schweyger reports on the beginnings of the Protestant faith in Tirol, 1510–1522 (Hall, City Museum)





Center: Carinthian chalice. A glass chalice of the C. Spittaller family of Bleiberg above Villach, used in the time of secret Protestantism

Right: Christliche Kirchen-Agenda. Original edition by David Chytraeus and Christoph Reuter, 1571 (Vienna, Society for the History of Protestantism in Austria)



Left: Illustration from the Schweyger chronicle of Hall (Tirol), in which Franz Schweyger reports on the beginnings of the Protestant faith in Tirol, 1510–1522 (Hall, City Museum)





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Left: Maximilian II (1527–1576). Contemporary engraving (Vienna, Picture Archives of the National Library)

Right: David Chytraeus (1530–1600). Professor in Rostock; theologian, historian, and philosopher; chief author of the *Kirchen-Agenda*, 1571. Contemporary woodcut (Vienna, Archives of the Evangelical Consistory)

EFFIGIES DAVIDIS CHYTRÆI, Theologi, Historici & Philosophi celeberrimi.



HYTR ÆI hac tabula finxit manus æmula vultum;
Ingenium tabulis exhibet iple luis,
Nil ultrà addo, Sat est CHYTRÆI dicere nomen;
Nomen apud nostros cognitum & antipodas,



REVERENDISSIMO, ET ILLVSTRISSIMO DOMINO, DNO MELCHIORI KLESEL, DEIGRATIA EPISCOPO VIENNENSI & C.SAC. CAS. MAI[®] CONSILII ARCANI DIRECTORI & C.RARO, IVSTO, PIO, ET OPTIMO PRASVLI & C.DOMINO SVO GRATIOSISSI^{®®}

demise secin, et obtulit Sac: Cæs: Mai: Sculptor Agidius Sadeler.

ANNO. M. DC. XV.

Left: Melchior Khlesl (1553–1630). Bishop of Vienna, chancellor of Emperor Matthias, cardinal from 1615. Engraving by Ägidius Sadeler, 1615 (Vienna, Picture Archives of the National Library)

Right: Country home in Graz. Impressive court with pillared arcade built 1557–1565 by Domenico dell'Allio of Lugano. – From G. M. Vischer, *Topographia Ducatus Stiriae* (a book of castles), 1681 (Graz, Styria State Archives)

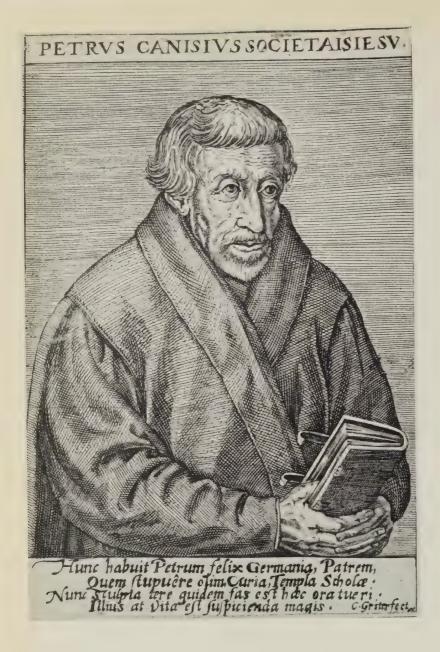




Castle Bertholdstein, built at the beginning of the 13th century. The building now extant is largely from the 17th century. Residence of a district preacher after Adam von Lengheim had acquired the castle in 1578

Baptismal font in the Bertholdstein Castle chapel. Unusual for a chapel. Coat of arms and date seem to point to Adam von Lengheim and his wife Helena von Lamberg





Above: Peter Canisius (1521–1597). Founded the first German local house of the Jesuit order in Cologne. 1571–1573 he was court preacher of Ferdinand II. Author of the popular catechism *Summa doctrinae christianae* (1555). Engraving by C. Griter (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)

Above, right: Jonah escapes from the mouth of the whale. The frescoes resulted from a commission of Ferdinand I to the superintendent of the salt industry Sebastian Tunckhl in 1553 (Bad Ausee, Hospital Church of the Holy Ghost)

Below, right: Dedicatory inscription for the frescoes in the Hospital Church of the Holy Ghost in Bad Ausee





Left: Inquisition in Waidhofen an der Ybbs. A Freising commission of the Counter-Reformation condemns the Protestant city council in the upper city square May 9, 1588. Contemporary illustration (Waidhofen, City Archives)

Right: Tombstone of the family Praunfalk with a depiction of the doctrine of justification, 1571 (Knittelfeld, City Church)





Styrian religious treaty of Jan. 20, 1580. Parchment with rich binding in red leather and the seven seals of the governor and the representatives affixed to a cord (Graz, Styria State Archives)



The Sign of the Chalice



BOHEMIA

The renewal of the church in Bohemia is, of course, most closely linked with the name of John Huss, but its roots reach far back before the time of the master, and it attained its culminating point only in the Unity of the Brethren.

From the 14th century Waldensian influences manifested themselves in certain parts of present-day Czechoslovakia. Islands arose that stood in contrast to the religious life of their environment. These groups were already being persecuted severely. In the middle of the 14th century preachers appeared in Prague who expressed deep dissatisfaction with conditions in the church and nation, especially with the monastic orders. They did not hesitate to charge that Antichrist was ruling in the church. The Moravian Milic of Kremsier gathered crowds of people about himself in the largest churches of what was then the imperial city. Here, too, the hierarchy and the orders took sharp action. The growing desire for a reform of the church, however, could no longer be suppressed. The guardians of Milic's bequest in 1391 established Bethlehem Chapel in the old section of Prague as a church where services for Czech hearers were held. The roomy building was called a "chapel" because it was not meant to be a parish church. In 1402 the enthusiastic preacher John Huss received the commission to preach the Word of God here in his mother tongue on Sundays and festivals.

John of Husinec in southern Bohemia was probably born in 1372 (?). He attended the school at

Prachatice and studied at the University of Prague, which Charles IV of Luxemburg had founded in his crown land of Bohemia in 1348, the first university of central Europe. From 1398 Huss himself delivered lectures in the faculty of arts. He was consecrated to the priesthood in 1400.

All his life he gave passionate support to two interests, his Bohemian university community and the English theologian John Wycliffe, whose writings at that time were current in Bohemia. Huss did not take over Wycliffe's opinions without examination. For example, in his interpretation of the Lord's Supper, vows, and the veneration of Mary he remained completely on the ground of tradition. But it is true that the new things he enthusiastically proclaimed are all found in Wycliffe. The writings of the Englishman attracted Huss because this man sought "to lead all men back to the law of Christ... and especially the clergy, instructing them to give up the pomp and power of the world and to live with the apostles according to the life of Christ," that is, Wycliffe's ideas in practical reforms took hold of Huss. These fit in well with the cares of the preacher of Prague, who wanted to remove the abuses of the church and, like the Englishman, opposed the secularization of the church. He was grateful to find a kindred spirit in Wycliffe, who possessed authority among the friends of reform in his own surroundings.

Huss had made enemies for himself with his powerful advocacy of reform. Other clashes in the

ecclesiastical and university-political sphere were added. From 1410 on he was therefore repeatedly excommunicated. In accordance with the wishes of the king, he left Prague in 1412 so that - as his ruler supposed - peace might return there again. Actually the excitement among the people did not quiet down. It was nourished by letters Huss addressed to his followers from his place of refuge. He stayed at first at Kozi Hradek near Usti, where the lord of the castle granted him asylum. Here he wrote his most important tract, De ecclesia. Besides this he preached in the surrounding area. In this area the memory of the pastoral activity of Huss was perpetuated in an especially lively manner. A few years later there arose in this neighborhood the city of Tabor as the center of the more radical Hussites. To be closer to the capital, which he visited on several occasions in this period, briefly and incognito, of course, Huss changed his place of refuge and went to the castle Krakowetz, which belonged to one of his followers.

From here he went to the Council of Constance, where King Sigismund hoped to smooth out the ecclesiastical disputes in Bohemia by negotiations with Huss and thereby to remove the stain of heresy from the land. Sigismund finally sacrificed Huss to the hatred of his opponents. To what extent he thus broke a promise guaranteeing Huss a safe return in case he should not acquiesce in the judgment of the council is debated. When Huss realized that his life could be saved only by the abjuration of his conviction, he revealed true greatness. On July 6, 1415, he died on the funeral pyre as a Christian martyr who was prepared to pay the full price for being a Christian as he understood it. And when he realized that his age could not bear this Christianity, in reliance on God he took upon himself, for the sake of what he had recognized to be the truth, the judgment of this age and remained true to his own statement: "Seek the truth, hear the truth, learn the truth, love the truth, tell the truth, hold the truth, defend the truth unto death!"

Even before Huss' death, Prague in the autumn of 1414 witnessed an incident that gave the Czech Reformation its symbol. In a university disputa-

Sepsamitoto Ossestibludich Miste Jan hus Polozil weetlenie nastiene



John Huss, "Treatise on the Six Errors," Leitomischl, P. Olivetskij, 1510. One of the oldest printed works of the Brethren at Leitomischl, showing a writing clergyman on the title page (Prague, Library of the National Museum)

tion Huss' friend Jacobellus of Mies proved from Scripture and history that the withdrawal of the chalice in the celebration of the Eucharist was not older than 200 years and that there was no theological reason for not complying with the word of Jesus: "Drink ye all of it." In the church of St. Martin on the Wall the chalice was then commonly given also to the people, and the Eucharist was administered under both forms (sub utraque specie). The practice of "Utraquism," to which Huss had given his approval in a treatise from Constance, was introduced in most of the churches of Prague. The sign of the chalice became a symbol for all those who like Huss were striving for reform. With this sign they soon decorated churches, but also shields and banners of their armies. For this reason the Hussites were called not only Utraquists but also Calixtins.

The Hussite movement was stratified. It contained radical and moderate groups. Among the radicals political and economic considerations were frequently added to the religious and ethical concerns. They looked for the "millennial kingdom," which Christ was to establish on earth soon after the imminent Final Judgment.

The bishop of Litomysl and later of Olomouc, John Zelezny, organized the remnants of the Catholics in the land into action against the Hussites. The distribution of the chalice was forbidden, and the Hussite priests were driven from their positions. But they still found support at the hands of the people, who were strengthened in services held on the mountains (Matt. 24:16). The meeting places were given Biblical names like the hill Tabor near Bechyne or Mount Horeb near Hradec Kralove (Königgrätz). In Prague the former Premonstratensian monk John Zelivsky issued the summons to revolution. Catholic persecution drove the Hussites in general to take up arms. At their head stood the country squire John Zizka of Trocnov, an outstanding general, who defeated the German and Hungarian crusaders of Sigismund on the hill called Vitkov near Prague (since then called Zizkov). The Hussite wars lasted 14 years. The Utraquists remained undefeated. But in Moravia they did not experience such unhindered expansion as in Bohemia. They undertook campaigns into the neighboring countries and there found an influx to their ranks from the social-revolutionary sections of the population.

The common aims of all the Hussites are found in the Four Articles of Prague, apparently formulated already in 1419 and proclaimed in 1420 in Czech, Latin, German, and Magyar. They demanded free proclamation, the distribution of the Eucharist under both forms, the renunciation of property, and an exemplary life from the clergy and the punishment as well as the checking of all mortal sins. In the interpretation of the articles of Prague the individual Hussite groups disagreed. They were finally wrested from the Council of Basel in 1436 in a milder form as the so-called Compactata and remained the law of the land. The Curia, to be sure, did not confirm them. Indeed, Pope Pius II in 1462 expressly declared them to be null and void. In 1564, however, Pius IV saw himself compelled to concede at least the chalice to the Bohemian lands.

Despite everything it must be admitted that the Utraquist church of Bohemia, which consolidated itself by the inclusion of various radical and milder streams, in the final analysis came to a standstill halfway to the Reformation. It never rid itself of its dependence on Rome. Moreover, it became torpid in external forms. Genuine spiritual life became an ever greater rarity in her even though a few priests with great care concerned themselves for the flock entrusted to them. About such priests smaller groups gathered in Bohemia and Moravia - we can call them congregations whose spiritual life differed essentially from that of the general run of Utraquists. To these belonged, among others, the Brethren in Divisov, Vilimov, Krcin, Chelcitze, Kromeriz, and Klatovy. Epoch-making was the circle that thronged about the pulpit of the first elected archbishop of Prague, John Rokycan, in the Tyn church in the old section of Prague. At the center of this continually growing circle of "Brothers and Sisters" there stood, both on the basis of his ties of relationship to Rokycan as well as for his personal qualities, the conspicuous "Brother George," a country squire who was later called Krejci, "the tailor," after his chosen trade. These Christians found

their prototypes in the Taborites and other groups like them, but they rejected their overstated opinions.

Rokycan realized that he himself could not meet the demands of his hearers, who aspired to a strict apostolic life. Therefore he drew their attention to the south Bohemian Peter Chelcicky, in a certain sense a revolutionary thinker. According to his teaching, Scripture was the sole source and norm for faith and life. Christ and His Word stood at the center. The Sermon on the Mount demanded a high morality of them. Peter Chelcicky's aversion for the world and its ordinances based on force became a part of them. Rokycan made it possible for the new church thus in the process of development, the "Unity of the Brethren," to settle on the Lititz estate of King George of Podebrad in the village of Kunwald. Thus the first congregation of the Brethren apparently was organized towards the end of the year 1457 or early in 1458. From 1464 it was given a firm regimen under strict church discipline. Brother George worked zealously as a missionary. He traveled throughout Bohemia, visited the groups who were in spiritual affinity and had gathered about the "good clergy" of the Utraquists, and established connections with them. Some of them became a component part of the Unity.

For ten years the Kunwald group remained within the church of the Utraquists and tried to influence them. Finally they realized that this was impossible and took the decisive step toward separation. They chose their own priests and thus became the first Reformation church. By lot – in imitation of Acts 1:26 – they chose three Brethren from among 12 to be priests, and the youngest of these, Matthias of Kunwald, was ordained to be bishop. The immediate result of this bold step was a severe persecution of these "heretics," but because of their diligent and orderly life they were well received at that time by many a nobleman.

Despite their own distress the Brethren established relations with the Waldensians who for generations had lived in the Brandenburg Marches, and they took several hundred of these in when a new wave of persecution broke over them. They were settled in the vicinity of Lanskroun and on the



Peter Chelcicky conversing with Jan Rokycan and Utraquist masters. From a 1520 work of Chelcicky (Prague, National and University Library)

Fulnek estate. Efforts were made to establish contact also with other spiritual movements abroad, but not always with success. Ambassadors went as far as Rumania, Russia, Constantinople, Asia Minor, Palestine, Egypt, and Italy.

Later years brought a relaxation of the former legalism within the Unity. The collegiate principle established itself in the leadership. After the death of Matthias in 1500, Luke of Prague (d. 1528), however, held the actual leadership as a man of experience and a theologian. He is often called the second founder of the Unity.

The Hussite expeditions had created frightful impressions in the neighboring countries, especially in Germany. All the more cause for surprise at first that Luther did not simply condemn the Hussites root and branch. Already at the Leipzig Debate he allowed himself to be moved by Johann Eck to state: "Not all articles of the Hussites are heretical" (Sebastian Fröschel, "Von der Disputation zu Leipzig," Unschuldige Nachrichten von alten und neuen theologischen Sachen, Leipzig, 1717, p. 19). Two preachers in Prague sent him Huss' De ecclesia with a letter of greeting. Personal relations, letters, and opinions in Luther's writings followed. Duke George of Saxony drew the attention of his cousin, the Elector Frederick the Wise, Luther's secular ruler, to Luther's relations with Bohemia, overinterpreted, it must be admitted (Felician Gess, Akten und Briefe zur Kirchenpolitik Herzog Georgs von Sachsen, I [Leipzig, 1905], No. 146). Writings of Luther were translated into Czech. Czech students received their training at Wittenberg. Luther attended to the printing of translations of Bohemian writings and provided them with prefaces. In Prague Lutheranism had many adherents. In the Utraquist church the old discord between moderate and decisive Hussitism was renewed through Lutheran influence. After the conservatives had first carried the day, in 1540 those who were more radical, the so-called Neoutraquists, gained control in their church.

In Moravia influences from Switzerland made themselves felt, among which Zwinglians and Anabaptists held the balance. In the forties the ties of the Unity of the Brethren with Calvin were formed, and these became ever tighter after Luther's death. The Catholic King Ferdinand I, the brother of the German Emperor Charles V, endeavored to eliminate every church in his realms that was not linked with Rome. He had more success in this respect in Bohemia than in Moravia, but after the Religious Peace of Augsburg in 1555 he had to curb his efforts. Instead of openly suppressing the Protestants he now only promoted the Catholic Church. In 1556 he introduced the Jesuit order into Prague, raised their college to the rank of a university in 1562, and assigned the censorship of books to them. In 1561 the archbishopric of Prague was once again filled after 130 years. Diplomatically skillfull Ferdinand I in 1564 succeeded in prevailing on Pius IV to concede the chalice to the laity in Bohemia, Moravia, and a part of Hungary. Thereby he hoped to bring to pass the complete amalgamation of the Utraquists with the Catholic Church. But instead of this the Neoutraquists developed more and more into real Protestants who only lacked their own organization. The old Utraquists obviously declined in importance.

Among the Unity of the Brethren one man among their seniors (so their bishops were called) was in this period outstanding as a theologian, John Blahoslav of Prerau (1523-1571), who had studied abroad and was humanistically trained. In his translation of the New Testament into Czech, Blahoslav made use of the original Greek text. To be sure, he had to suffer under the burden a higher education often brought with it for a Brother. Rudolf Rican said of him in his book Das Reich Gottes in den böhmischen Ländern ("The Kingdom of God in the Bohemian Lands"), published in 1957: "The allurement and the problem of Christian humanism accompanied his life and his work" (p. 104). It was not only his humanism that brought him into closer relations with Melanchthon. The emphasis on works, the interpretation of the sacrament, and the tolerant attitude of the Brethren were bound to point him more strongly to Melanchthon than to Luther.

In this difficult time for all non-Catholics in Bohemia and Moravia, Utraquists and Neoutraquists, members of the Unity of the Brethren, Lutherans, Philippists, Calvinists, and remnants of Anabaptist groups existed side by side. When Maximilian II

came to the throne in 1564, they hoped for better times. But the new ruler never went beyond diplomatic halfway measures. In the year 1575 a commission chosen by the provincial diet drew up a confession of faith and a church order which in the first instance was intended to serve as a basis for a reorganization of the Utraquist church, the "Bohemian Confession." Many of its sentences are taken over verbally from the Augsburg Confession. Besides that it had points of contact with the Four Articles of Prague as well as other confessions of Bohemia's own past. But also the Second Helvetic Confession (1562) and the Heidelberg Catechism (1563), two Reformed confessions, do not belie their sponsorship. Insofar the Bohemian Confession was a conglomeration. But since it was only a matter of stressing the common basis over against the Catholics, the appearance of this document, which was intended to express also the views of the other non-Catholic groups, must be regarded as an achievement. The greatest significance of this confession is the fact that here Neoutraquists and Brethren found each other. For the first the diplomacy of the king beguiled them all at the cost of their efforts. Only indefinite oral promises were made them in regard to religious liberty, but actually limitations were imposed on them.

During the following decades, which ran their course in external peace, Protestantism in Bohemia and Moravia could doubtless record progress. In this connection, from 1580 there was a clear dogmatical swing on the part of the Brethren to Calvinism. Moreover, for this period the interrelations of the Protestantism of Bohemia-Moravia with the Lutheranism of Slovakia as well as the Silesian territory about Teschen were important. The religious and cultural exchange between these areas was favored because the Czech language was everywhere the literary language. In this period, how-

ever, the Catholicism of Europe also gained in strength. From the time of Trent it had begun to recover.

The work of the Jesuits bore fruit also in Bohemia. In the efforts at re-Catholicization, which were prosecuted in a methodical manner from 1584, special attention was above all paid to the adherents of the old Utraquism. But many of these in this period preferred to go over to Neoutraquism. With the use of diplomacy or force the Catholics gained control of a number of important positions. In 1602 the Counter-Reformation of Bohemia by force was taken in hand.

On the other hand, the letter patent of the incapable ruler Rudolf II published on July 9, 1609, guaranteed religious equality to the Protestants of Bohemia on the basis of the Bohemian Confession. The "New Consistorium of Prague" assumed the leadership of all the Protestants, but the Unity of the Brethren still retained a certain degree of autonomy. In Moravia the Protestants likewise enjoyed protection from religious persecution.

In the following years there were recurrent controversies on questions of religion. One of these led to the fall of the imperial councillors from a window of the Hradčany Castle in Prague on May 23, 1618, which caused the Thirty Years' War. The short reign of the "Winterking," Frederick of the Palatinate (1619-1620), brought the temporary reign of Calvinism. In this period St. Veit's Cathedral in Prague became a Reformed church. The Battle of the White Mountain west of Prague on Nov. 8, 1620, ended with the victory of the Catholic troops. As a result of this, organized ecclesiastical life for Protestants in Bohemia came to an end for the next 160 years. The ensuing period of suffering drove many of them into exile and made the highest demands on the courage and character of those who remained in the land.

TIMOTEUS Č. ZELINKA



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Preceding page: John Huss (1372–1415). Copper engraving (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)

Below: Partial view of Old Town in Prague, with Bethlehem Chapel. Detail from a drawing of J. D. Huber, 1769. The chapel, which was to serve for preaching in the Czech language, was built 1391–1394. After the Battle of the White Mountain it came into the hands of the Jesuits, and in 1786 it was partly torn down (Vienna, National Library)

Right: Huss in the pulpit of Bethlehem Chapel. From the Jena Codex (Prague, Manuscript Division of the National Museum)





Below: Ruins of Castle Kozíhrádek near Tábor. Huss had withdrawn to this place 1412–1414

Right: Market place and the Old Town Hall in Tábor

Page 142: Huss being burned. From the Jena Codex (Prague, Manuscript Division of the National Museum)

Page 143: "The Last Supper." From the Jena Codex (Prague, Manuscript Division of the National Museum)





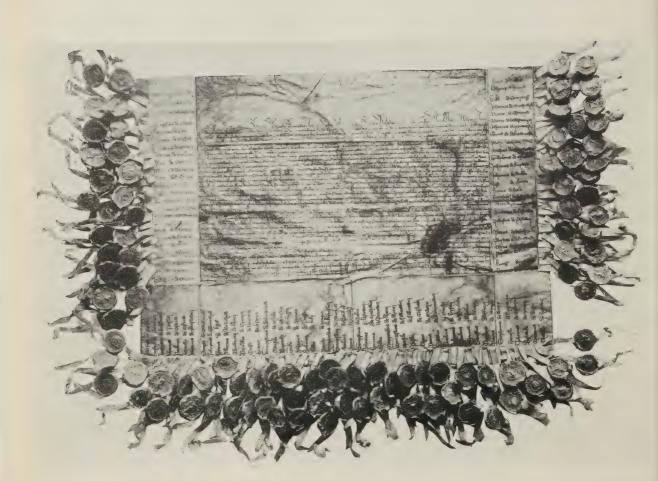


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Above: The burning of Huss in Constance. Reverse of a medal (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)

Below: Diploma of protest of the Bohemian-Moravian nobility against the burning of Huss. Original in Edinburgh (After the facsimile in the Prague National Museum)





Above: Battle between Hussites and Knights of the Cross. Pen-and-ink drawing from the Kuttenberg Bible, 1st half of the 15th century (Prague, National and University Library)

Below: Jan Zizka of Trocnov. Sculpture fragment from the city coat of arms in Tábor, 1515 (Prague, National Museum)





"Ye That Fight God's Battles Here." Opening lines of the Hussite chorale from the Jistebnice hymnal (Prague, Library of the National Museum)

First church building of the Unity of the Brethren in Kunwald, built 1457



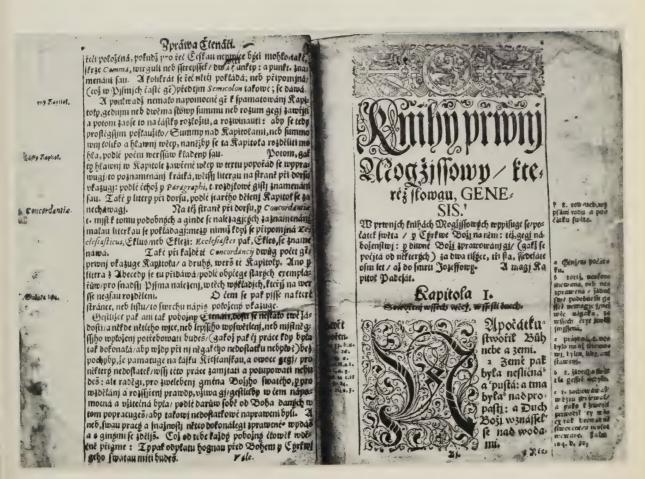


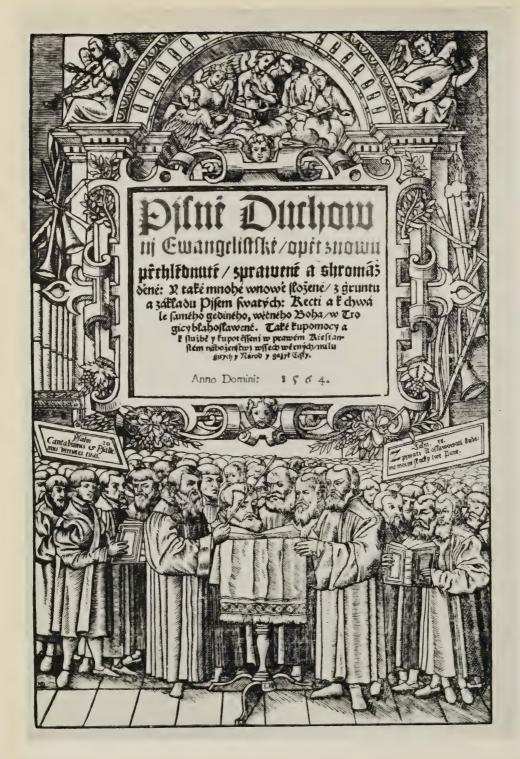


Above: View of Leitomischl. Settlement of the Bohemian Brethren since 1475. From 1503 the Brethren maintained a printing establishment here (from the collection of drawings of Bohemian and Moravian cities by F. B. Wernher, 1752)

Below: "Brother Lucas: Answer of the Brethren to M. Luther's Writing," Leitomischl, P. Olivetskij, 1523. The page shows Luther with the symbol of the rose and perhaps Brother Lucas (Prague, National and University Library)

Beginning of Genesis, from the Kralitz Bible, Part V, 1588. This Bible was printed in six parts under the sponsorship of the counts of Žerotin in Kralitz (western Moravia), 1579–1594. The scope of the work is explained by the addition of extensive commentaries





Left: Evangelical Spiritual Songs ...," Ivancice, 1564. A second hymnal issued under the editorship of J. Blahoslav. The title page represents a high point in the Bohemian Brethren's accomplishments in the art of printing (Prague, National and University Library)

Right: Charter of Rudolf II, who guaranteed religious liberty to Bohemia. Invalidated by means of knife cuts by Ferdinand. (Prague, State Central Archives)



Execution of the leaders of the revolt in the Old Town circle of Prague, June 21, 1621. Engraving from a pamphlet printed in Germany (Prague, Capital Museum)



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HUNGARY

The first indications of the Reformation became apparent in Hungary a few years after Luther's public debut, even before the battle of Mohács, when the land formed an unimpaired unity. On the northwest, north, east, and southeast it was bounded by the Carpathian mountain range, on the south by the Danube, the Save, and the Adriatic, and on the west by offshoots of the Alps. This territory, besides Hungary in the strict sense, included also Croatia and Slovenia. After 1526 two kings contended for the control of the land. From 1541 the empire of the Ottoman Turks wedged itself into its midst. In the second half of the 16th century the principality of Transylvania arose in the east of the country while the narrow western and northern areas from 1526 and for centuries afterwards remained under the rule of the Habsburgs. This political-territorial disposition, however, did not have such a strong influence on the course of the Reformation in Hungary that its history could not be treated as applying to the whole land.

There was also no significance for the events of the Reformation in the fact that the Romanians in Transylvania and the Ruthenians in the northeast of the country belonged to the Orthodox Church of the East. Efforts made as early as 1544 in Transylvania to spread the doctrine of the Reformation among the Romanians led to no result worthy of mention. A Protestant catechism published in 1544 in the Romanian language is no longer in existence today. Valentin Wagner's catechism in

the Greek language, published in Kronstadt (Transylvania) in 1544 and 1550, on the one hand served the purposes of school instruction after the humanistic style and on the other hand the spreading of the Protestant doctrine among the Greeks. These efforts testify that both the Lutheran Reformation of Wittenberg as well as the Swiss movement of Upper Germany were conscious of their ecumenical responsibility and were not content simply with a protest against Rome but wanted to proclaim the Gospel to all men, all nations.

The whole population of Hungary with the exception of those mentioned belonged to Roman Catholic Christendom and stood in close cultural relationship with their northern and western neighbors. Thus Luther's writings found their way into the land at a very early stage, apparently already in 1518. Parallel with the appearance of the Reformation, countermeasures on the part of the Roman Church followed from the outset. As early as 1521 defensive measures were taken against Luther's influence. Reformation and defensive efforts followed parallel lines in such a way that they cannot be separated from each other by demarcations of time. From 1522 onwards, as is clearly demonstrable from the particulars of persecutions, there are authentic proofs that Luther's writings were gladly read by the citizens of several cities. They found in Luther's reformatory theses justification for their rejection of traditional forms of piety and their fight against clerical privileges to the extent that they despised indulgence, fasts, and excommunication. Probably the rising of the miners of Neusohl in the period 1525/1526 can be traced to Luther's influence. It probably also became mixed up with influences from the Bohemian Moravian Brethren. In any case, in the cities, both among the ranks of the patricians as well as those of the plebeians, an equal interest and receptivity for the doctrines and innovations of the Reformation could be observed.

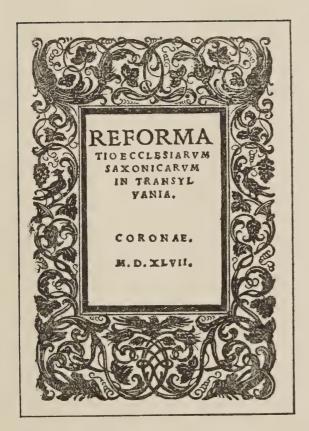
Alongside the writings of the reformers, the ideas of the humanists also exercised an influence on certain circles. Even greater importance, however, must be attributed to the preachers appointed in the cities. Already in the first half of the twenties they were distinguished for the courage, power, and results of their work, and this applies to the whole course of the Reformation. The special employment of the preachers enabled them to proclaim the doctrine of the Reformation, the Gospel, and evangelical liberty. In the years before the battle of Mohács Conrad Cordatus, born in Upper Austria, imprisoned for his reformed proclamation of the Word, and finally compelled to withdraw to Germany, was the most important figure among these preachers or parsons.

The advance of the Reformation could not be seriously hindered either by legal proceedings initiated by royal decrees or by sporadic acts of violence including capital punishment or by the law of the Diet of 1523, which enacted execution and confiscation of property, or by that of 1525, which prescribed the burning of Lutherans.

During the political disorders that followed the battle of Mohács the indications of a reformatory movement diminished, but from 1531 they again moved strongly into the foreground. Above all, former students of the University of Wittenberg were the ones who spread the new views. It is also worthy of note that several Hungarian reformers already previously at the University of Cracow had received humanistic impulses for the revision of traditional Roman Catholic doctrine. Among the men who had studied at Wittenberg and who gave the Reformation a strong impetus special mention should be made of Matthias Dévai, Emmerich Ozorai, Stephan Gálszéczi, and Andreas Batizi. It is especially their polemical writings, catechisms,

and a hymnbook that testify to their literary activity. Matthias Dévai outranked all others in importance so that he was called "the Hungarian Luther" by his contemporaries. After his university studies at Cracow he was active as a Catholic priest. He studied at Wittenberg from 1529 to 1531 and after his return made such a successful debut with his reformatory theses and as a preacher that he brought upon himself the persecution of the bishop of Eger. He was dragged to Vienna and tried there by Bishop Johannes Faber. He escaped from this imprisonment with the assistance of citizens of Košice. He made his way into the territory of the other king but was again imprisoned in Buda. Up to his death he was not able to settle anywhere and carried out his reformatory activity at different places in the capacity of a preacher or a schoolteacher. He was active west of the Danube at several places, in the area unoccupied by the Turks between the Danube and the Tisza, and then as an itinerant preacher beyond the Tisza. In between he again visited Wittenberg on two occasions. In 1537 he had his Latin polemical writing, the Disputatio, printed at Nuremberg with the assistance of Veit Dietrich, and in 1538 his Hungarian catechism came out at Cracow. Ludovicus Rabus included a German translation of Dévai's Disputatio in his large work The Histories of God's Chosen and Elect Witnesses, Confessors, and Martyrs (first edition 1556). Dévai in particular as well as the other reformers of this period had a grasp of the whole of Christian doctrine in its organic wholeness and proclaimed the justification of the Christian before God and also before men in a lively, undivided unity.

For the Hungarian Reformation it is characteristic that it was the result of the attitude of individual persons like pastors, students, landowners, and city councillors. Neither the state authorities nor the ecclesiastical government competent up to that time had any share in its dissemination. One cannot speak of a reformation of whole areas until the forties. Not without importance here was the fact that with the consent of certain city magistrates and magnates the results of the work of the reformers could be put down in writing. Thus the pastors of the district held a synod in Erdöd, on



Title page of the "Reformation of Saxon Churches ...,"
1547 (Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of the Sciences)

the northern boundary of Transylvania, in 1545 and agreed to adopt the Augsburg Confession. In the north of the country the pastors of the five royal free cities (Bartfeld, Eperjes, Kaschau, Leutschau, and Zeeben) united in a confraternity and a common confession of faith. It is thought that this Confessio Pentapolitana ("Confession of Five Cities") was drawn up in 1549 by Leonhard Stöckel, the outstanding school rector at Bartfeld. It can be regarded as a variant of the Augsburg Confession. Each a decade later, the Confessio Montana and the Confessio Scepusiana appeared on the scene. These represent the confession of the mountain cities and the cities of the area of Spišská. These documents in turn are based on the Pentapolitana. The Reformation of the Saxons of Transylvania had two focal points: Kronstadt and Hermannstadt. Here John Honter and Matthias Ramser were active, who, however, confronted each other with some measure of rivalry. Honter, "the evangelist of Transylvania" had a humanistic background, but in the homecoming of Valentin Wagner from Wittenberg he obtained an outstanding theological collaborator. In 1547 a "Church Order for All Germans in Transylvania," (Reformatio ecclesiarum Saxonicarum in Transylvania) was published in German and Latin in Kronstadt. In the same year a liturgy appeared. In 1548 and 1555 editions of Luther's Small Catechism were published. These publications and a tight organization under their own superintendent for the Saxon congregations gave the Reformation of the Saxons of Transylvania such a firm basis that they were able to bypass the bitter theological controversies of the following period without incurring any greater misfortunes, although the Augsburg Confession was not adopted until 1572 and efforts to substitute the Swiss and Upper German type of Reformation for Lutheranism continued here until the next century. The Swiss and Upper German movement made efforts throughout the whole country to oust the Wittenberg movement. The battle of these two streams cannot be demarcated territorially or temporally.

The Hungarian population of the independent principality of Transylvania came into contact with the Swiss and Upper German branch, strange to say, through the Christological controversies of antitrinitarian origin. The ideas of the antitrinitarians reached Transylvania by way of Italian theological dilettantes, mostly through Polish mediation. The leading personality of the antitrinitarians in the land was Franz Dávid, by birth a Saxon of Transylvania, first a Lutheran, then a Reformed, and finally the Unitarian superintendent of Transylvanian Hungary. He himself later nullified his success, towards the end of his life, by denying that Jesus is God's Son and the Redeemer, and by founding the sect of the Sabbatarians, which was oriented toward Jewish and Old Testament theology. After his fall and the settlement of the violent controversies, even those who remained with antitrinitarianism, the later Unitarians, recoiled from Dávid's program. But those who returned to the worship of the Trinity no longer acknowledged the Lutheran faith of Wittenberg but turned exclusively to the Swiss movement, which assumed a middling position between Evangelical Lutheran Christianity and antitrinitarianism. To establish equilibrium among the political forces of the country a form of church law unique for those times then came into operation in Transylvania, the system of the four confessions with equal rights. These four received, legally acknowledged confessions were the Roman Catholic, Evangelical Lutheran, Reformed Calvinist, and Unitarian.

That the Swiss movement gained the upper hand among the Hungarian population in Transylvania is connected with the fact that already in the third quarter of the 16th century a strong Reformed church government was set up in the areas beyond the Tisza politically connected with Transylvania. In this part of the country the spreading of the Helvetic stream in many respects had a peculiar character. Here the Reformed Church, so to say, immediately took the place of the Roman Catholic Church. The early reformers who preached Lutheran doctrine, like Matthias Dévai, were not yet able to organize any new church. Perhaps they did not even want to do so in the hope of being able to preserve the unity of the church. Martin Kálmáncsehi, on the other hand, formerly canon of the cathedral chapter of Alba Iulia, at once joined



"Agenda for the Pastors and Deacons in Transylvania," Kronstadt, 1547 (Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of the Sciences)

forces with the most radical form of the Swiss Reformation and was supported by a statesman, Peter Petrovics, who likewise belonged to this movement. Instead of a confrontation between the Lutheran and the Swiss attitudes the following peculiarities were in evidence here. The representatives of the Swiss Reformation first argued matters out with Trent. In this way the Confessio Catholica, also called the Confessio Ecclesiae Debreciensis seu Agrovallensis, came into being in 1561. Later they attacked the antitrinitarians. Finally (1570) a social revolution prompted by apocalyptic expectations disrupted religious life in this area. The greatest personality in building up the Reformed Church in this area was Petrus Melius. He wanted to see the reality of God's sovereignty in the congregations. His theology followed Zwingli's and Bullinger's spirit. The title page of his catechism, it is true, contains the words: "according to the writing of John Calvin," but this only indicates that Calvin was held in high regard by him. In accordance with this attitude, the Reformed congregations of this area, that is, the representatives of 17 deaneries, in Debrecen in 1567 signed the Second Helvetic Confession as a basis for their faith. They also adopted a church order, Articuli ex verbo Dei et lege naturae compositi ("Articles Composed from the Word of God and the Law of Nature"), and with emphasis on the fact that the pastors of Geneva had also signed the Second Helvetic Confession, they achieved for themselves a very effective and powerful unity of doctrine and organization, which not only met the requirements of their area but was also timely. A bishop was appointed as the head of this Reformed Church. Already on this basis it cannot be called Calvinist. This Reformed Church, consistent in its effects, theologically considered, cannot be characterized either by the name of Zwingli, Bullinger, or Calvin. Its "Reformed" character is grasped most easily in the circumstance that the reformers, pastors, and organizers at work here extended the "church" doctrine over all areas of life and that for them the Bible became not only the source for the proclamation of the Gospel but also the measure for their line of conduct and their church ordinances.

In the areas occupied by the Turks, the land between the Danube and the Tisza and in the southeastern part across the Danube, the clergy as well as the ecclesiastical establishments of all confessions were granted general toleration even though they were held in contempt by the Mohammedans. Among the inhabitants who had not been dragged off, Catholics were to be found here and there. These were cared for chiefly by Franciscans. Here, too, in many places, the course of the Reformation was disturbed by the propaganda of the antitrinitarians coming from Transylvania. In this way a number of Unitarian congregations were established. Excepting for these congregations, the reformers were also successful in introducing the Reformation among the population oppressed by the Turks. At first they followed the Wittenberg pattern. Michael Sztárai, for example, remained a true Lutheran to the end of his life and worked with success with his songs, paraphrases of the Psalms, and polemical dramas for the schools. Stephan Szegedi Kis, on the other hand, later went over to the Swiss. Despite all the mishaps of his life (he repeatedly lost his property, including his library, and was also severely mishandled bodily), he composed theological works in Latin, which went through several editions abroad. In any case, as a result of a process no longer ascertainable exactly, the Reformed faith experienced universal progress in these areas up to the end of the Turkish rule. There were apparently two reasons for this. Because of the external circumstances every link between the areas conquered by the Turks and the Evangelical Lutheran churches, even those in Hungarian territories, was severed. Between them there stretched out the line of border fortresses, and here Turks and Christians fought against each other. On the other hand, under Turkish rule, the population, also as a result of the political circumstances, was able to remain in cultural sympathy with the areas beyond the Tisza. From the schools in those areas came their supply of clergy. But these schools were not Lutheran but Reformed.

In the northern and western part of the country, which found itself under the rule of the Habsburg kings, the Roman Catholic hierarchy with their consent remained established at least formally.

In contrast to the Roman Catholic Church, none of the reformed groups received any recognition and freedom on the basis of political law. In 1548 the diet ordered the reestablishment of Roman Catholic faith and worship in every place and in addition published concrete measures. Among these was the banishment of all heretical priests. In addition the law demanded the expulsion of the Anabaptists and Sacramentarians but not of all Lutherans, probably out of consideration for their great number. This policy may have been influenced by the Interim policy of the German-Roman Empire. At any rate, Emperor Ferdinand I expressed his point of view on this matter in an unmistakable manner when he said in 1559: "The Augsburg Confession has force in the Empire but not in Hungary." It was therefore a fruitless attempt to plead the example of the imperial law passed at Augsburg in 1555 and to try to obtain legal recognition for the Augsburg Confession also in the Kingdom of Hungary. Under King Maximilian (1564-1576) many still hoped by means of certain concessions to be able to maintain the unity of the church. But already during his reign and even more under his successor the Roman Catholic clergy in the spirit of Trent and with the help of the Jesuits repeatedly tried to expel heretical pastors, also the Lutherans. As a means of combat against Protestant congregations and church organizations, Lutheran clergy were summoned before episcopal synods, and use was made of imprisonments, edicts of censure, and prohibitions to do any printing.

One of the energetic Catholic theologians was the archdeacon and cathedral provost, deputy administrator of the archbishopric of Esztergom and titular bishop, Nicholas Telegdi, with whom superintendent Peter Bornemisza had to dispute. On the basis of his astounding literary activity, chiefly his sermon books, he occupies a prominent place not only in church history but also in Hungarian literary history. He was characterized by Lutheran doctrine, but in regard to ceremonies he was puritanical in Upper German style. His steadfastness against the assaults of the Counter-Reformation was exemplary. These assaults were directed in the first place against Prot-

estants of the Augsburg Confession living in the north and west of the country, whereas the Reformed, living further to the east, could live relatively unmolested.

The growth of the Evangelical Lutheran church corporations and congregational life was disrupted not only by the Counter-Reformation but also by the emergence of theologians who appealed to Melanchthon. Others passed over the difference between the Invariata and Variata and called themselves adherents of the Augsburg Confession. Still others, under the influence of the Swiss and Palatinate theology followed the confessional position which since the 17th century has been designated in Hungary as the Evangelical Helvetic Confession. In the northern parts of the country the controversy between Lutherans and Sacramentarians was continued till the end of the 16th century. Both warring parties appealed to Melanchthon. It is true, Philippism, Melanchthon's doctrinal position, also in Hungary met its counterbalance in the Flacianists, the adherents of Matthias Flacius. It was only with the acceptance or rejection of the Formula of Concord that the definite separation between Lutheran and Reformed doctrinal positions began.

Together with the other inhabitants of the north, the Slovaks also came to grips with the Evangelical Lutheran Reformation, the Counter-Reformation movement, and the controversies concerning "Cryptocalvinism." In this process close connections were established with the Bohemian-Moravian Protestants. The need for religious literature was met chiefly from this quarter.

The Wends living in Medjumurje stood in close connection with the Slovenians living beyond the border. Among them the Lutheran Reformation succeeded in establishing itself uniformly and successfully. Their most prominent reformers were Primus Trubar, the "Luther of the Slovenians," and Stephan Consul. The Reformation spread rapidly also in Croatia and Slavonia, but the early appearance of the Counter-Reformation soon pushed it back.

In the upper parts of the Danubian area and in the territory across the Danube the Lutherans and those inclined to the Reformed confession were able

ЕДИН КРЯТКН дым нирки иникки потреблен и проднен яртна

кван най дели, стареправе вере Крстнанске. На осй сваки чловикь море лахко тере брзю се навчити. Koh Bepa het Ta neaba, Nahetapeia, odb Bora nos ставлена, и која всакога чловика спасси. Како. скроти чеса ятаковон бери моремо прити. Нако се нма Бого право сложнти : Како сваки Крстимниъ RANEGONAX H SCHME (MPTÍ HMJCE KPHIHTÍ, H BABHEJA TH HA BA. DA HA MHAOCTH II NOMOWH BOXHOH HE KEE 38фа, из Кеанискога изика сад илипрео,скеоз янтона далматниа, и Стипана Ic тенана истамачени.

РЕГИСТЯР НАН ВИЯЗ СБИХ AP: тиквлоб, кон сатих кйнгах нуломин исв, манти хоциш за Инмскими и Хевацкими

предгосорн.

Sie sitrnampsten Sauptartickel Chisslider Lehie / aug der Lateinichen / Teinschen vond Windischen Spiach / in die Erobatische jegundt zum ersten mal verdolmetsche / vod mit Cyrulis fchen Budftaben gerruckt.

> втукнигн. AETO OD KECTOEA POHCTEA. Я. Ф. М. б.

"The most important main articles translated into Croatian in Cyrillic letters," Tübingen, 1562. The translator was Primus Trubar (1508-1586), one of the reformers of Slovenia (Göttingen, State Archives)

to live together almost up to the end of the 16th century. Here Peter Bornemisza played an especially important role. In his sermon books the proclamation of faith and grace formed the central theme, as it was common to both reformed movements and as it had already been the case with the first great reformer Matthias Dévai. Not until 1591, in a colloquy at Csepreg in the territory across the Danube, was there a radical break between the two parties. The Evangelical Lutheran Church (that is, the superintendency) across the Danube testified in a church order of 1595 (appearing in print in 1598) as well as with a liturgy and the Hungarian translation of the Epitome of the Formula of Concord that it confessed its faithfulness to the unaltered Augsburg Confession.

If one takes a survey of the whole area of Hungary inclusive of Transylvania, one sees that neither the division according to estates nor that according to language gives a satisfactory explanation for the separation into an Evangelical Lutheran Church and a Reformed Church. There can be no doubt that in the villages inhabited by bondsmen the patronage stemming from the Middle Ages played a strong role. But in the market towns and even more in the royal free cities, in the families of the lower and higher nobility, the interpretation of the reformers and preachers in the first place decided the success of the Reformation and on the other hand determined which reformed position was to gain the greater influence. Controversy and rivalry between the two currents of the Reformation were determined not only by sociological factors but even much more by differing theological viewpoints and here and there also by factors of a subjective and willful kind. But they did not alter the result that at the end of the 16th century only a few adherents of the Roman Catholic Church were still at hand. A report from a prelate in the Habsburg section of the country to the Roman Curia estimated the number of Catholics as a thousandth part of the population. This assessment may well have been an exaggeration even though it is an adequate statement for the overwhelming results of the Reformation. According to the judgment of a Reformed church historian

an absolute majority of Protestants of the Augsburg Confession were to be found at that time in the area mentioned, the north, northwestern, and trans-Danubian sections of Hungary.

At the end of the Reformation era it became obvious that two Reformations were developing alongside each other in Hungary, and consequently the organization of two completely separated churches became inevitable. But the whole of Hungarian Protestant Christianity still regarded the Bible translations as common prop-

erty. Here special mention should be made of the translation of the New Testament by Johannes Silvester (1541) and that of the whole Bible (including the Apocrypha) by the Reformed Senior Gáspár Károlyi, which was published in Vizsoly in 1590. Some of the hymnbooks and a large number of the church hymns also remained common property. But above all the greatest common treasure for the whole of "evangelical" Christianity in Hungary remained the doctrine of justification by God's grace alone through faith in Jesus Christ.

JENŐ SÓLYOM



Preceding page: Ludwig II (1516–1526). Painting by an unknown Dutch master of the 16th century (Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts, Old Gallery)

Below: Battle of Mohács, Aug. 29, 1526. Aquarelle by Gyula Thury after a miniature by an unknown Turkish master in the work by Dsela'lzáde Musztafa: *Tabakát-ül-mamálik* (Budapest, Hungarian Gallery of Historical Paintings) Above, right: Kidnaping and abduction of captives by Turkish soldiers. Woodcut by an unknown German master (From Veit Traut's "The Arrival, Warfare, and Victory of the Turkish Emperors," Augsburg, 1543)

Below, right: Galeotto Marzio (1427–1497), an Italian humanist at the court of King Matthias. Bronze memorial medal by an unknown Italian master about 1500 (Budapest, Hungarian National Museum)









John Honter (1498–1549). Portrait from the 16th century. Honter was a Lutheran reformer who erected a printing establishment in Kronstadt in 1533 or 1535 (Göttingen, Lower Saxony State and University Library)



RVDIMENTORVM COS.

Vnc quoque terrarum triplices percurrere Europa, paritera, Afia, Libyaq, calentis Aggrediar, priscis miscens noua nomina regnis. Nanque uelut rerum cursus sub sole per orbem Incertis uicibus nunc huc,nunc fluctuat illuc, Nec retinere ualet stabilem per secula sortem. Sic olim indigents bello, fame, peste fugatis, Nomina sape nouis sunt commutata colonis. Finibus Europæ clauduntur Iberica regna, Qua prima oceanum spectant, solemá, cadentem. Hinc sursum uersus borealia littora Galli, Germaniq tenent, & gentes Sauromatarum, Que Scythiam partim contingunt solis ab ortu: At Scythiam Thraces opibus bellog superbi, Et Macedum quonda clarissima regna sequiteur. Gracia debine notium longe procurrit ad axem, Cui Peloponnesus bimari coniungicur Isthmo. Hinc procul ionios exceptans margine fluctus Adrias, Illyricis Italos seiungit ab aruis. Europa medium Dacorum regna tenent:mox Pannonie

CIRCULI SPHAERAE

CVM V. ZONIS.



Left: A page from Honter's Rudimenta, 1558 (Göttingen, Lower Saxony State and University Library)

Right: Illustration Circuli Sphaerae cum V. Zonis, Ordo Planetarum cum aspectibus from John Honter's Rudimenta cosmographica, 1558 (Göttingen, Lower Saxony State and University Library)





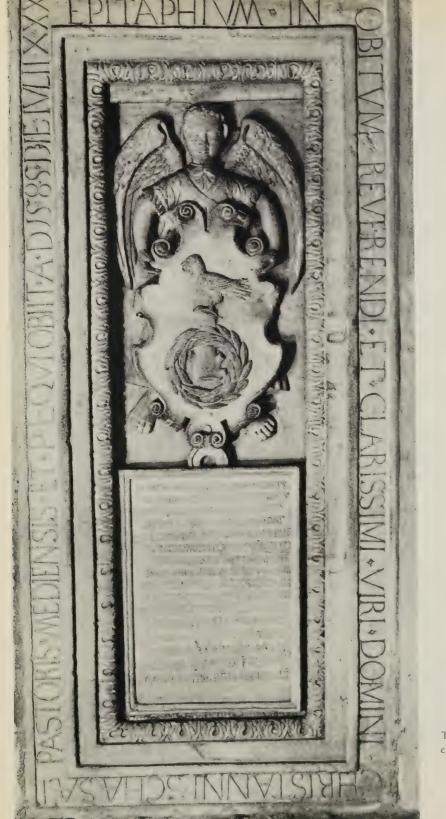
Above: View of Cluj. Copper engraving after a drawing by Egidius van der Rye (d. 1605). From "Exhibit of the Principal Cities of the Whole World," Book VI, Cologne, 1617 (Budapest, Hungarian Gallery of Historical Paintings)

Below: Baptismal font in the church at Medias

Siege of Eger, Sept. 21 to Oct. 13, 1596. Copper engraving by Johann Sibmacher, 1611. From Hieronymos Ortelius, "Chronology, or Historical Description ..." Nuremberg, 1602 (Budapest, Hungarian Gallery of Historical Paintings)

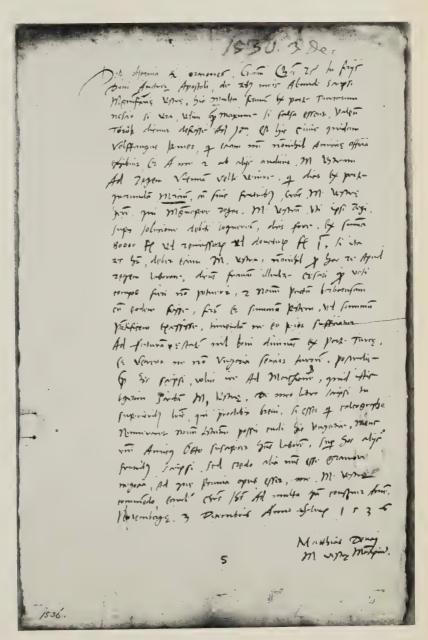


WAHRE CONTERFACTUR DER VOESTUNG ERLAIN OBER UNGERN WIE DIE VOM TURCKEN BELEGERT WORDEN. ANNO CHI. 15 9 6.



Tombstone of Christian Schaeseus in the church at Medias

Letter of Matthias Dévai to Thomas Nádasdy, written in Nuremberg, Dec. 3, 1536. Dévai reports about a projected visit to George of Brandenburg and mentions the possibility of printing the Hungarian New Testament in Nuremberg (Budapest, Hungarian National Archives)





MATTHAEI SCARICAEI KEVINI

AD LECTOREM WCHATXOV.

Si cupis expressos STEPHANI cognoscere vultus: · Os oculos q suos sic Sze GEDINYs habet. Hinc reputa, sancti Lector non ficte laboris, Quotfuerint humili corpore mentis opes. Vt, quamuis faciem manus hanc operosanotarits Catera depingi Zeusis & ipse neget. Qualis enim do ctum penetrale figuret Apelles; Per sua quod solus scripta diserta docet? Hacidcirco fauens vbi conspicis ora, precare Nepereant tanti tot monumenta viri. Anno clo lo LXVIII.

Stephan Szegedi Kis (1505-1572). Studied in Vienna, Cracow, and Wittenberg. Theologian, teacher, and preacher. His works were published in Basel, Geneva, Schaffhausen, and London. Portrait by an unknown Swiss artist after the drawing by Matthew Skaricza in Theologiae sincerae loci communes, Basel, 1585 (Budapest, National Library Széchényi)

Above, right: Prince Stephan Bocskai (1557-1606) among his footsoldiers. As leader of the national revolution against the Habsburgs (1604), he gave the Hungarian nation religious liberty through the Peace of Vienna (1606). Engraving after Wilhelm Peter Zimmermann

Below, right: The school of Debrecen, surrounded by student dormitories. Old view by Kálmán Kallós, 1871











Above, left: Reception of the emperor's ambassador in Buda. Aquarelle by an unknown master of the end of the 16th century (Budapest, Capital Museum of History, Division of Modern History)

Below, left: Albert Szenczi Molnár at age 30 (1574–1634). Theologian, publisher. Important works: Hungarian-Latin Dictionary, Nuremberg, 1604; Hungarian Grammar (Latin), Hanau, 1610; Small Catechism (Hungarian). Herborn, 1607. Portrait by Heinrich Ulrich, 1621

Right: Bálint Belassi (1554–1594). Important lyric poet and hymn writer. Portrait by an unknown master of the 17th century (Esztergom, Christian Museum)



POLAND

The Polish Reformation, which in point of time ran its course parallel with that of western Europe, is characterized by definite peculiarities. In contrast to other lands of Europe, religious toleration prevailed in Poland during the 16th century.

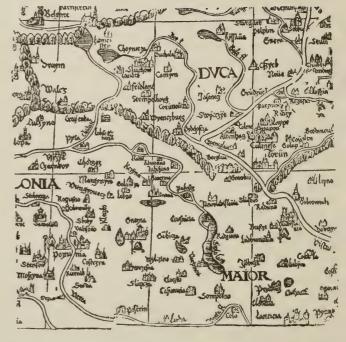
On this account many different reformed elements gathered here that were not tolerated elsewhere even after the chief Christian faiths had found approval there. Under the kings Sigismund II, Augustus and Stephen Bathory Lutherans, Calvinists, Bohemian Brethren, antitrinitarians, and individual groups narrowly limited in membership and connected with the Anabaptist movement of the 16th century existed side by side. This multiform character not only made Protestantism in Poland a living force, open-minded, and versatile but also evoked a passionate striving for independence, which could not arise in the provincial churches of the West, for they were closed confessionally and under the leadership of secular government. To be sure, at the same time, the dangers of such an atomization were also recognized, and on that account efforts were made to establish union. The attitude of religious toleration which prevailed almost everywhere fostered this. Thus Poland became the first country which not only was open to ecumenical aspects but in which a union actually entered the picture. It is true, the atomization of Protestantism robbed it of its power of penetration and offered Catholicism points of contact for offering combat long before the beginning of the powerful Counter-Reformation.

What did the course of the Reformation in Poland look like in particular? In the 15th century, under the influence of the reform councils of Constance and Basel as well as Hussitism, opposition against the Catholic Church of the time was revived. The influence of the councils was temporary, but the aftereffects of Hussitism continued for a long time, as the burning of the priest Adam of Radziejów for his Hussite convictions in the year 1499 shows. In the families of the Ostrorogs, Lassockis, and Górkas the Hussite tradition was still alive in the 16th century. The most severe criticism of prevailing conditions in the church during the waning of the Middle Ages came, of course, from the humanists. In 1544 Andrzej Trzecieski founded a humanistic circle in Cracow that devoted its interest to religious questions. There were corresponding circles in various places. By means of this humanistic preparation in particular the way was opened up for the Reformation in Poland. The most important man of the Polish Reformation, who, however, devoted most of his time and strength during his life to tasks outside of his homeland, John Laski (1499-1560), came from these circles.

Reformatory currents, properly speaking, made their way into Poland under Sigismund I (1506–1548). The early date of their emergence is proved by the fact that already in 1520 the Roman Catholic provincial synod at Piotrków had to deal with the question how the spreading of Lutheran doctrine could be curbed. These currents came from

the center of the German Reformation, from Prussia, the land of the Order of Teutonic Knights, which had been secularized in 1525 and without any opposition from its Polish overlord had received the Protestant faith, from Silesia and Holland. At the beginning the adherents of the Reformation had worked in secret, from the middle of the century in the open. In the years before the Osiandrian doctrinal controversy, before the middle of the century, Lutheran Prussia and its University of Königsberg (founded in 1544) won great influence. In this city the first Lutheran printed writings in the Polish language appeared. Under much persecution the Reformation reached its zenith in the years between 1552 and 1573. Then followed a heavy crisis and finally at the turn of the century the fight for bare existence. The churches of the Reformation were never rooted out completely in Poland.

The development of the Reformation in Poland did not simply take place in isolation. It is closely connected with political, national, cultural, social, and economic factors. The Lutheran Reformation found its first adherents among the numerous Germans of the Polish cities. In the active relations with the German Empire, merchants, manufacturers, and artisans played a role which provided points of contact on their commercial travels. Ties of blood relationship were also important. Young noblemen who studied at outside universities as well as the exchange of letters with important men of middle and western Europe along with cultural currents also brought the religious questions into view. About 1540 the Reformation won adherents among the Polish nobility of Great Poland (Poznan). Both in Masuria and in Silesian Teschen and Oppeln, in the Poznan districts of Odolanow and Kepno, in the principality of Zator-Oswiecim (Auschwitz), and in Lithuania peasants had adopted Lutheranism, something unusual for Poles. But in their case it received from the outset a peculiar and pronounced Polish character. And only among these peasants did it achieve permanence within the Polish population. After the incorporation of Livonia by Poland in 1561 there was also a rich development of Lutheranism among the peasants here.



Detail from a map of Poland, showing a part of Great Poland and West Prussia. By Bernard Wapnowski, a friend of Copernicus, 1526. Woodcut (Warsaw, Main Archives of Old Documents)



Andreas Osiander (1498–1552). Called to Königsberg in 1549 as preacher and professor by Duke Albrecht. In 1537 he published his harmony of the gospels. Author of hard polemics. Prepared the way for Copernicus. Copper engraving by Balthasar Jenichen, 1565 (Coburg, Fortress Art Collection)

In the footsteps of advancing Lutheranism followed the other branches of the Reformation. Anabaptists cropped up in Elbing as early as 1530. Bohemian Brethren put in an appearance in Great Poland after being driven from their homeland in 1548. Their simple way of life as well as their strong religious discipline exercised a power of attraction. A considerable number of the nobility of Poznan were won over by them. Calvinism can be traced from 1550 and perhaps as early as 1544. It spread in the years between 1553 and 1557 among the nobles of Little Poland (Galicia), Podlesia, and Lithuania, and it seemed to offer support in their political activity and in their efforts for independence. In January 1556, antitrinitarianism, no longer tol-

erated in western Europe, appeared here. Its adherents called themselves "Polish Brethren." They regarded themselves as the true executors of the Reformation, which in its dogmatic criticism had incorrectly called a halt when it faced the conceptions of the ancient church, in Christology, for instance. Their social views resembled those of the Anabaptists in many ways. Their ideas go back to Francesco Stancaro and Fausto Sozzini of Upper Italy among others. The Mennonites who immigrated from Holland and East Friesland were Anabaptists who were named after their founder Menno Simons. They settled in the delta of the Vistula in the second half of the century, later in the whole of the Vistula lowlands, where, thanks to their experiences in laying out dikes and dams, they converted the dangerous area of inundation about the Vistula into a fertile area of cultivation.

The number of the various Protestant congregations increased appreciably in the years between 1552 and 1573. In connection with this a profusion of Protestant publications, hymnbooks, catechisms, postils, Bible translations, and devotional literature were produced. In 1573 the Polish nobility fought for and obtained the edict of toleration of the "Warsaw Confederation," which guaranteed religious liberty as a constitutional right for those dissidentes in religione ("disagreeing in religion"). In this entire period the Catholics mounted a hard battle against those of other faiths. From 1520 King Sigismund I released edicts against the heretics. It is not only the king's own rejection

that speaks from these edicts. The king was under pressure from the bishops and the papal legate. Everyone who spread the new faith was placed under the ban. The young men who were studying in Germany were ordered to return to their homeland and study at heretical institutions abroad was forbidden. Under threat of punishment the king forbade the introduction and spread of Lutheran writings by students who visited German schools of higher learning. He put a bloody end to the people of Danzig in 1526, where the Reformation movement as also later in Thorn and Elbing was combined with a political and social upheaval. He also issued orders to blockade the borders of Silesia to halt the infiltration of heresy. Already in 1524, at the instigation of the Catholic clergy, it was decided at a synod in Poznan to call in a commission of the Inquisition. In Gniezno Melanchthon's writings were given a public burning, and significantly also those of Erasmus of Rotterdam. As a humanist, it is true, the latter was not a direct adherent of the Reformation, but among the Catholic clergy he was also regarded as the father of a heretical movement.

The son and successor of Sigismund I, King Sigismund II Augustus (1548-1572) adopted a milder position in ecclesiastical-political matters. He was tolerant towards those of other faiths because he wanted to preserve neutrality. The result of this was that the Protestants hoped for his support and the Catholics mistrusted him. Neither viewpoint was justified because Sigismund II Augustus acted only under political considerations. His heartfelt concern was only for the good of the state. In no case were the religious controversies to endanger the unity of the state. Hence, under the influence of the Catholic clergy he released a number of edicts against reformatory teachings, which were not heeded, however, by the officials who had the power of putting them into execution, for many of them were confessors, or at least patrons, of the "heresy." But at the Polish diet, the Sejm, in Piotrków (1562) he also received, from the hands of adherents of the Reformation, the Augsburg Confession in a Polish translation. At all events, the time of the greatest development of the Reformation movement in Poland belongs in his reign.





View of Lissa (Lesno), center of the "Unity of the Brethren." 18 th-century woodcut (Berlin, German State Library)

Even in times in which the Protestants were not exposed to such severe oppression they were always aware of the danger in which their want of unity involved them. Men of vision made early attempts to help in this area.

The Polish superintendent Erasmus Gliczner, for example, made efforts to give the Lutheran congregations of Great Poland a firm organization, unfortunately in vain. In 1555 the Reformed of Little Poland as well as a section of Great Poland had concluded the union of confession and cultus at Kózminek with the Bohemian Brethren.

Only a year later this union unilaterally went over to the Calvinistic doctrine. Irrespective of its short life, this union was largely in existence only on paper.

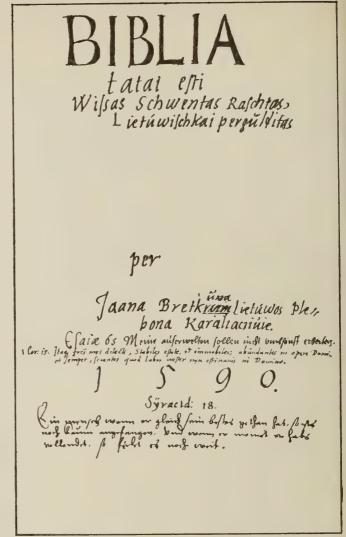
When the Calvinist John Laski returned to Poland in 1556, he resolved in the face of the existing situation to bring into being a Polish national church in which all the Protestant confessions were to be united under a Polish confession drawn up by him. From the outset the antitrinitarians were excluded by him - in 1658 they were finally compelled by a decision of the diet either to become Catholic or to emigrate. Even though strict Lutherans refused on grounds of faith to give their assent, the Consensus of Sendomir was agreed to in 1570. For the first time it united Lutherans, Calvinists, and Bohemian Brethren, naturally not in a confessional union. All three confessions were merely to recognize each other's orthodoxy, and it was decided to discuss controversial questions as well as all other pertinent circumstances at general synods. Such synods were also held at Cracow in 1573, Piotrków in 1578, and Toruń in

For Poland the *Consensus* promoted the Warsaw Confederation of 1573. But it also had significance over and beyond that. It served as a prototype for the Bohemian Protestants who in 1575 united on the basis of the *Confessio Bohemica*. The Polish Protestants in 1578 also attempted to win over German Protestant princes for similar undertakings. And finally leaders of the Orthodox Church in Poland of that time felt moved thereby, in the interest of their own protection, to conclude an alliance with the Polish Protestants at a conference

at Wilna in 1599. Plans for an ecumenical Christian council for the union of all churches were discussed only on paper, for example, by the great Polish political writer and theologian Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski (1503–1572), who, even if he did not officially belong to the Reformation, was closely connected with it, and also by the Senior of the Reformed Church of Little Poland (1607–1618), Bartholomew Bythner, in his *Fraterna exbortatio* ("Fraternal Exhortation").

The Reformation in Poland flourished up into the nineties, but then the decline could no longer be halted. The disunity in the Protestant camp was not the only factor responsible for the success of the Counter-Reformation. The national, political, social, and economic interests of the nobility also played their part. In their circle the activity of the upper clergy at Rome was felt to be dangerous, and envy was felt against the high clergy because of their political influence as well as against the orders because of their wealth. The clerical immunity from secular courts was regarded as disturbing, and equality with the clergy in taxation and duty payments was demanded. But after the nobility had curbed the power and wealth of the Catholic clergy by exploiting the new faith, their zeal for the Reformation flagged. Only too often there was a return to the old faith for reasons of opportunity. The Protestant faith seldom became adequately rooted among the people, as we have already seen. At best a portion of the middle-class citizenry adhered to the Reformation, but often enough it consisted of foreigners, namely, Germans. All this weakened the Protestant group.

Hence the Counter-Reformation soon amassed success after success. In 1564 the Jesuits were invited into the country. They founded colleges and organized the resistance. Good schools were founded, like the Lyceum at Braunsberg, called into existence with the help of the Rhenish patres in 1568 as a counter to the Protestant University of Königsberg. Sigismund III Vasa (1587–1632) was a pupil of the Jesuits. For practical purposes he abolished toleration. At this stage Protestant churches were destroyed, pastors were persecuted, and congregations were harassed in various ways. Between 1592 and 1627 the Protestants in Great



Translation of the Bible into Lithuanian by J. Pretke. Manuscript of 1590 (Göttingen, State Archives)



Nicholas Rej (1505-1569). The "father of Polish literature" and an eminent poet of the Polish Renaissance. Author of many polemics. Contemporary woodcut from "Zwierciadło" (The Mirror), Cracow, 1568 (Warsaw, National Library)

Poland lost two thirds of their churches. A skillful appeal was made to national feeling. Catholicism was identified with things Polish, Lutheranism with German nationalism, and the Orthodox faith with Russian nationalism. The educated and energetic bishop of Ermland, Stanislaus Hosius, one of the five chairmen at the third period of sessions of the Council of Trent (1562/63) and later a cardinal in Rome, was for many years the champion and defender of the Catholic Reformation in Poland.

The decline of Polish Protestantism seemed to be imminent. But in spite of everything a remnant survived the difficult times. It gained reinforcements, especially in Great Poland, in the form of thousands of expelled Bohemian Brethren and German Lutherans who had left their homeland in consequence of the Thirty Years' War. To the immigrant Bohemian Brethren belonged John Amos Comenius (1592–1670), whose irenical efforts led to a renewed merger of the Bohemian Brethren and the Reformed of Little Poland in 1634 at the synod of Wlodawa.

Even though the Catholic clergy tried to hinder the permanent settlement of the "heretics" in vain, the old Polish Protestantism was not reestablished. The self-conscious Pole now remained Catholic. A Protestant, in most cases correctly, was regarded as a foreigner. Often they were Germans. The Colloquium Charitativum, the "loving" religious colloquy at Toruń in 1645 between Protestants and Catholics only put the seal on the contrast.

In spite of this defeat abiding fruits of the Polish Reformation can still be found. It is true that even in the period of its upswing it played only a modest role in the history of world Protestantism. But it was able to exercise an important influence on the cultural life of Poland in literary, pedagogical, social, and theological respects.

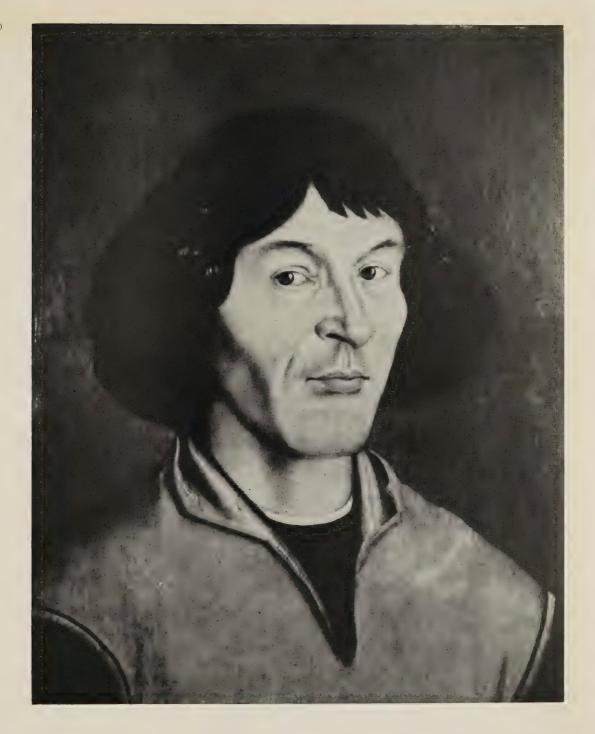
Theological reflection and the effort to proclaim the Gospel in the national language not only enriched the Polish language but also promoted the development of the literary language in general. The most beautiful memorial of the old Polish language, the Brest Radziwill Bible of 1563, the printing of which was made possible by Prince Nicholas Radziwill the Black, is famous. In 1568

appeared the first Polish grammar written by Peter Statorius at Pińczów, an early center of the Reformation in Little Poland. Now Polish literature was enabled to flower for the first time. The father of Polish popular literature, Nicholas Rej, became a leading figure of the Polish Reformation.

The Reformation also continued to exercise an influence through its pedagogical and social impulses. In 1558 the first pedagogical treatise "Concerning the Education of Children" was published by Superintendent Erasmus Gliczner.

From the "heretic" James of Ilza, a professor at Cracow, comes the idea of a "vocational school." Here he wanted to teach Christian children a trade rather than have them learn the free arts. The Bohemian Brethren in particular, the groups which stood closest to the Anabaptists, and the antitrinitarians imported new social conceptions that were in part taken from the New Testament. Not last, the reform of the Catholic Church of Poland in the 16th and 17th centuries was a fruit of the Protestant Reformation in Europe and in the land itself.

ARNOLD STARKE



Preceding page: Nicholas Copernicus (1473–1543). Eminent astronomer and the most significant figure of humanism in Poland. Painting by an unknown contemporary artist (Torún)

Above: Coin (*Groschen*) with a portrait of Duke Albrecht of Prussia, the reformer of Prussia, the land of the Teutonic Knights, who had turned to the new doctrine 1522/1523 (Nuremberg, Germanic National Museum)

Coin (Groschen) with a portrait of Duke Frederick II of Liegnitz-Brieg, supporter of the Reformation (Nuremberg, Germanic National Museum)

Below: Martin Bielski in his study. Bielski assumed a tolerant attitude toward the Reformation. Title page of his "World Chronicle," Cracow, 1551 (Warsaw, National Library)





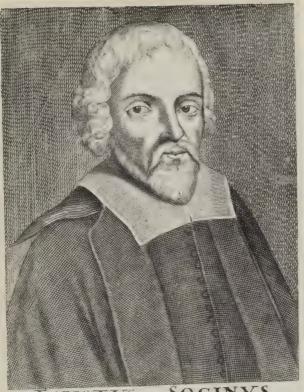




Above: John Laski (1499–1560). Became acquainted with Zwingli and Erasmus in Switzerland but later followed Calvin. Lived abroad most of the time (Emden, London, Copenhagen, Frankfort on the Main). His greatest concern was to unite the Protestants in a Protestant Polish national church (Berlin, State Library)

Below: The Sixth Commandment of Luther's Small Catechism translated into Polish by Hieronymus Maletius, Königsberg, 1561. Königsberg was a center for Slavic printing at the beginning of the Reformation (Hanover, Lower Saxony State Library)





FAVSTVS SOCINVS,
Senentis
Maerefiarcha et Intelignanus Socinianorum
Laelii ex Alexandro fratre Nepes
Natur Associd s. xbr



Left: Fausto Sozzini (1539–1604). Italian emigrant in Poland and organizer of the antitrinitarian movement, of which Raków was the center. Engraving from the Gesenius Collection (Wolfenbüttel, Duke August Library)

Right: King Sigismund II August (1548–1572). Decisive events in the Polish Reformation took place in his reign. He strove for tolerance. Engraving from Martin Cromer *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum* ("On the Background and Achievements of the Poles"), Basel, 1555 (Hanover, Lower Saxony State Library)

The Warsaw Confederation of Jan. 6, 1573, which guaranteed the nobility a choice not only of the Roman Catholic and the Augsburg confessions but also of all other Christian confessions. The treaty was concluded by all Polish noblemen at the Warsaw Diet and signed even by a Catholic bishop (Warsaw, Main Archives of Old Documents)





Meeting of the Sejm under King Sigismund II August, the senators on the benches. Woodcut from J. Herburt, *Statuten und Kronprivilegien* ("Regulations and Crown Privileges") (Warsaw, National Library)

CONFESSIA

Miary ktora Alugu-

stantska albo Auspurska Zowa/ nie-m. - grod No zwycieżonemu Cesarzewi Carolusewi Piatemu buzes - Au na Seymie wielkiem w Auspurku od przedo 156 Maigrain nich Książąt y miask Rzeskich podána Ula stroja wa dodzą Roku 1530. dnia 26. Czerwich skar Carteska Coop w

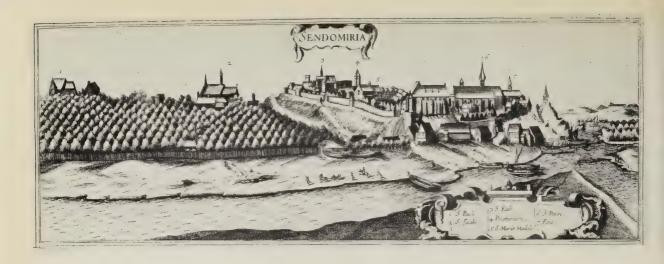
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sborn Posnaustiego/ninnch w Policie Kościosow/
na icspf Polski wławnie przetosona/
przijcza y wydana.

Przez Brasmusa Gliczneratych Rosciolow w Pospicze Superintendenta.

Orukowano w Brolewcu/V Fersego Operbargera/Roku Panskicyo.

The Augsburg Confession in a Polish translation by Erasmus Gliczner (1530–1603). Printed in Königsberg at Georg Osterberger's, 1594 (Gdańsk, Library of the Polish Academy of the Sciences)





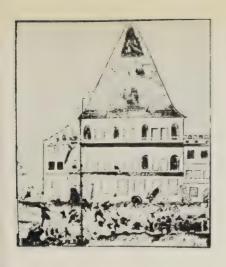
STANISLAVS HOSIVS. CARDINALIS EPISCOPVS
VARMEENSIS CONC. TRIDET. PRASES

Justructus patria, pugnat, pietate, gerita
Pratia cum monstris Hosius, & superat.

Artibus hic cunctis dexterrimus, omnibus armis,
Queis valet hostis atrox, Hosius exuperat.

Above: View of Sendomir. In 1570 the Consensus between Calvinists, Lutherans, and the Unity of the Brethren was concluded here. Copper engraving from Johannes Janssonius, Novus atlas sive Theatrum praecipuarum urbium ("Exhibit of the Principal Cities"), Amsterdam, 1656 (Berlin, State Library)

Below: Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius (1504–1579). Most eminent figure of the Polish Counter-Reformation, who called the Jesuits to Poland. Copper engraving (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)



Above: Destruction of the Protestant church in Cracow, 1574. Woodcut (Cracow, Jagellonian Library)

Below: Trial of the Arians. In the center King Wladyslaw IV. A plafond from the workshop of Dolabella of the middle of the 17th century (Kielce, Palace of the bishops of Cracow)



Below: The bloodbath of Torun, Dec. 7, 1724. Etching (Cracow, Czartoryski Museum)

Right: Title page of the *Biblia święta*, printed at the order of Count Nicholas Radziwill at the establishment of Bernard Wojewódka, Brest Litovsk, 1363 (Wolfenbüttel, Duke August Library)







Count Nicholas Radziwill (1515–1565). Engraving by D. Custos, from *Der Allerdurchleuthigsten und Grossmäthigen*...

wabrhaftige Bildtnussen ("True Portraits of the Most Illustrious and Mighty ...") (Coburg, Fortress Art Collection)

DENMARK, NORWAY, SWEDEN

The message of the Reformation reached the northern lands in a time of political unrest. The Union, which had joined Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland under Danish rule since 1397, had for a long time been in a state of dissolution. At the beginning of the 16th century, Sweden, and thus also Finland, had severed these connections under the rule of an imperial administrator. The idea of a union, however, had not been given up either on the part of the Danes or by the Swedish union party, who found their supporters among the upper nobility and the ecclesiastical leaders. Both for the upper nobility and for the ecclesiastical leaders a government based on the people represented a threat to their own political position. Supported by this party, the Danish king Christian II in 1520 made a final effort to reestablish the Union. In the following year the Danes were driven out. The leader of the revolt, Gustav Vasa, was elected king of Sweden in 1523. The bond of union was conclusively severed, and northern Europe was divided into Sweden-Finland which formed one empire, and Denmark-Norway, which was united under a common king. During the whole Reformation period the southern provinces of present-day Sweden, as well as the western provinces for the greater part of this time, belonged to Denmark, and at the beginning this also applied to the island of Gotland with the rich Hanseatic city of Visby. The Danish archbishop, who laid claims to the primacy over the northern ecclesiastical province, had his residence in Lund

until the introduction of the Reformation. The archiepiscopal seat of Norway was Trondheim. At the head of the Swedish church, which also included that of Finland, stood the archbishop of Uppsala.

In the case of Denmark as well as that of Sweden it can be established that the break with the papacy and the Catholic Church was not in the first instance the result of the spread of the Reformation doctrine in the two countries. This doctrine did not yet have any far-reaching success. It was chiefly a combination of political, social, and financial factors that had a bearing on the state. The political conditions in both countries were difficult. Christian II had been deposed in 1523, had left the land, and had made futile attempts to reconquer the throne with the support of his brother-in-law, Emperor Charles V. Quarrels for the throne then prevailed in Denmark until the year 1536. In Sweden Gustav Vasa had to overcome internal unrest and at the same time was compelled to withstand renewed efforts on the part of the Danes to reestablish the Union. In both lands recourse had to be taken to foreign help in money and troops, and an excessive dependence on the Hanseatic city of Lübeck threatened to stifle economic and political independence. Debt and heavy burdens of taxation weakened the state finances in Denmark, all the more so because in both lands the cultivable soil in preponderating proportion found itself in the hands of the nobility and the church. Towards the end

of the Middle Ages no less than three quarters of this was divided in about equal proportions between the nobility and the church. In Sweden these two estates each controlled about a quarter of the areas useful for agricultural purposes apart from the thinly settled regions.

The economical strength of the church as well as the manner in which this was used for political purposes brought it to pass that the confiscation of ecclesiastical property seemed the best expedient to the king when the time came for him to put the finances of the realm in order and to secure his own position. In Sweden Gustav Vasa received the approval of the estates for a confiscation of this kind by a decree of the Diet of Västerås in 1527. In Denmark Christian III attained the same goal at the Diet of Copenhagen in 1536. In Västerås it was determined that God's Word should be preached "purely." By these decrees the economic basis of her former position of power was taken from the church, and the way was opened for Protestant preaching. The decrees did not signify any formal break with Rome. This, however, was attained four years later inasmuch as Gustav Vasa confirmed the election of the first Lutheran archbishop of the land without obtaining approval from the pope. In Denmark the break came through the coup d'etat of 1536, in which Christian III had all the bishops of the realm arrested. The leadership of the church was completely subordinated under the king, who was to watch that the holy Gospel and the Word of God were preached to the people. By the time these decisions were made, Lutheran doctrine had already experienced considerable expansion in both realms.

That the Catholic Church was so quickly brought to her knees is closely linked with the fact that her position had been weakened internally for a long time past. The abuses that had brought Luther into his fight with the papacy were also decisive in setting a pattern for the North. The papal legate and indulgence monger John Arcimboldi, who had visited Denmark and Sweden for several years up to 1519 and who also tried to play a mediating role in the conflict about the Union, aroused the same ill will by his activities as Tetzel in

Germany. The manner in which the pope dealt with ecclesiastical offices also undermined the position of the church. The neglect of purely ecclesiastical tasks on the part of office holders in favor of personal advantages in the financial or political domain had the same effect. To demonstrate how little interest the bishops generally had in ecclesiastical matters it is instructive to note the excuse that none other than Paul Helgesen (Paulus Heliae) adduces for one for whom he had provided a posthumous notoriety drawn in the blackest colors. This man said: "For a long time it has been the custom not to regard the episcopal office as a spiritual office entailing duties but as a secular position with but one goal - to amass money." In Sweden similar conditions prevailed. There, in addition, the role played by certain bishops in the Union struggles had undermined the position of the ecclesiastical leadership. This had been especially the case with archbishop Gustav Trolle at the so-called Stockholm Bloodbath, when Christian II on the occasion of his coronation as king of Sweden had his political opponents executed.

Throughout the whole of the North the Protestant doctrine in its various forms reached the larger commercial cities already at an early date. These cities did not only maintain active links with the Continent, but their inhabitants to a considerable degree consisted of German merchants. These influences generally entered by way of the customary commercial routes, the "Salt Route" from southern Germany over Lübeck, which was essential for the commerce of the North, and also the direct sea routes from the north German and Baltic seaports. Because of these connecting links it was not any direct influence from Wittenberg that first evoked the Reformation movement in Scandinavia. Correspondingly, this was of a more complex nature. The late medieval reform movements and Biblical humanism played an essential role in the development that led to the break with Rome. Influences emanating from the south German reformers are also plainly noticeable. The north German influence, to be sure, remained strong throughout the whole period of the Reformation, especially in the ecclesiastical-literary sphere. It is significant that during the first phase

of the Reformation hardly a single one of the leading men in the northern countries can be described as a pupil of Luther, even though some of them had studied at Wittenberg. In Denmark, during the whole period of the Reformation, one of the chief figures was the Biblical humanist Paul Helgesen, who belonged to the Order of Carmelites, which exercised a particularly strong influence on learned studies in the North. Right up to the end he was a champion of Catholicism but by no means of the papal church. Other representatives of the humanistic movement also entered the service of the Reformation. This applies to the learned canon Christiern Pedersen, who had been in the service of the last archbishop of Lund consecrated by the pope, Birger Gundersen. Later he had followed Christian II into exile and ultimately reached Malmö, where he placed his pen and the printing press he had brought with him at the service of the new doctrine. The same applies to Peder Laurentsen, who was also originally a Carmelite monk and later became one of the most gifted and ardent assailants of the abuses in the Catholic Church as well as a defender of the new doctrine. In Sweden the archdeacon Laurentius Andreae, the later chancellor of the king, was the precursor of the Swedish reformer Olaus Petri and subsequently his most faithful collaborator. He too was a Biblical humanist with inclinations towards reform. Even Olaus Petri himself cannot simply be described as a disciple of Luther. Although a growing influence of Luther gradually made itself felt in his case, in his views on reform he always maintained a clearly marked independence.

In Denmark, after the deposition of Christian II, Frederick I at his coronation in 1523 made a promise on oath that he would not allow any "heretic, disciple of Luther, or others" to preach or teach against God, the faith of the holy church, the pope, or the Roman Church. This oath attested loyalty to the Catholic Church and was pointed at Biblical humanists and "reformers" as well as against adherents of the doctrine of Luther. But it still stressed national independence in the ecclesiastical sphere. The Old-Catholic reactionary attitude in the ecclesiastical question was essen-

tially conditioned by the claim of the upper nobility to sole rights to the higher ecclesiastical offices as well as by the fear that the banished king Christian II might find some support from his brethren at home. The latter, having earlier manifested an inclination to Biblical humanism, without any grounds at all had been accused by his opponents of preparing the way for heresy in Denmark. During his stay in Germany he had become a Lutheran and, among other things, had entered into close relations with Luther at Wittenberg. But political events on the Continent, especially the conflict between the emperor and the pope, as well as ecclesiastical developments in Sweden, nevertheless gradually compelled Frederick to adopt a policy friendly to the Reformation. Finally the Danish church, in a decision of the Diet of Odense in 1527 was declared the national church on the basis of the Gospel and without any connection with Rome.

In the meantime, the new doctrine had already gained a hold in many areas and especially in the larger cities. In Haderslev in the northern part of Schleswig, a strong Lutheran congregation arose already in the middle twenties of the 16th century. Soon a school for pastors could be established, to the student body of which some of the bestknown figures of the Reformation belonged. The chief center of the Reformation, however, was at Viborg, where the former monk of the Order of St. John, Hans Tausen, who had first studied at Louvain and then at Wittenberg, took over the leadership and gained adherents from among the citizens. He enjoyed the privilege of being able to work under a safe-conduct from Frederick I. In 1530 Viborg was completely Lutheran, and a number of churches that had now become superfluous were pulled down. At this point of time, Tausen had already transferred his field of labor to Copenhagen in response to a call from the king and won adherents there. On the island of Fyn Lutheranism took root through the instrumentality of the former Carmelite monk Peder Laurentsen, who was to play an outstanding role, when the new doctrine established one of its strongest bastions in Malmö. At this place several pioneer figures of the Reformation came together, Claus

Mortensen, surnamed "Töndebinder," the first Protestant pastor of a congregation in the city, Hans Olufsen Spandemager, who occupied the same position in Lund, Oluf Chrysostomus, and Frans Vormordsen from the Netherlands, later the first Lutheran bishop (superintendent) in the former archdiocese. With the powerful support of the burgomaster Jörgen Kock, (who was of German origin) and supplied with a safeconduct from the king, they carried through the new ecclesiastical order in part by force. As has been already mentioned, Christiern Pedersen was also active here and his work as an author and printer was of great importance for the success of the Reformation. As previously in Assens on Fyn, an evangelical seminary for pastors was established in Malmö. Archbishop Aage Sparre tried in vain to check the efforts of the reformers at Malmö by an open letter to the citizens of Malmö. He declared that their proclamation contained unvarnished errors and that they themselves were notorious heretics and for this reason had also been excommunicated. In Et kort Svar ("A Short Reply") Peder Laurentsen answered the accusations of the archbishop. A short time later he published the writing Arsagen og en ret Forklaring på den ny Reformato ("The Causes and a Correct Explanation of the New Reformation"), also called the "Malmö Book," one of the most important works of early Danish Reformation literature. For a short time the intervention of the archbishop slowed down the tempo of the work of the Reformation, and some of the leading personalities had to leave Malmö. But already after a few years the Lutheran movement got under way again.

In the middle of 1530 Frederick I convened a diet at Copenhagen to introduce peace and order into the chaotic ecclesiastical conditions of the land. The correspondence which then passed between the leaders of both ecclesiastical camps and in which the Lutheran preachers submitted a comprehensive statement of their viewpoint in the so-called *Confessio bafnica* did not lead to a conclusive decision. But for all that, the recess that was drawn up secured the position of Lutheranism. Soon afterwards matters came within a hair's breadth of a further development by way of vio-

lence when the citizens of Copenhagen tried to institute a regular program of iconoclasm. But it failed. At this point the Catholic Church found itself in a state of complete dissolution, and in the years following the death of Frederick I in 1533 the Reformation gained ground rapidly. After struggles for the throne that lasted for three years, Christian III carried off the victory and was given homage as king. The time was now right to adopt the measures and to establish the order that eventually made Denmark a Lutheran land.

In August 1536 the attack was launched against the bishops, and in the same year a diet to which only the secular estates were summoned decided that the bishops should never recover their secular power and economic position. It was also decided that they were to be replaced by "other Christian bishops and superintendents," who were to teach the holy Gospel and the Word of God, to give instruction, and to preach. The episcopal property was to be placed under the king, whereas that of the monasteries and chapters was to remain as such for the present. The appointment of pastors was to be the business of the king. A reconstruction of the Danish church into a Protestant state church was hereby carried out in principle.

Rapid further development ensued. A committee of "learned men," including several of the most prominent Protestant preachers as well as representatives of the cathedral chapters, received the commission to carry out "a good Reformation and an improvement in the unchristian ceremonies and abuses of the old times," and to prepare a new order. Together they worked out a Latin ecclesiastical order, or Ordinatio, on the basis of German patterns and earlier Danish proposals. The king sent this to Wittenberg to have it approved by Luther. At the same time the king requested that Luther's collaborator, Johannes Bugenhagen, should be sent to Denmark to assist in the reconstruction of divine worship. Bugenhagen was given this commission; the Ordinatio was finished in September 1537 and, in association with the coronation of Christian III carried out by Bugenhagen, seven Protestant superintendents were ordained. In 1539 a Danish translation of the Ordinatio containing only minor alterations was made, and in 1542 this was printed under the title Den rette Ordinants ("The Right Ordinances").

A foundation was laid by means of the Ordinatio, but much still remained to be done before the work of actually creating a Danish Protestant church could be said to have met with success. This was the task of the new superintendents. The leading figure among them was the superintendent of Sjaelland, Peder Palladius (1503-1560), who had returned to Denmark shortly before taking up his office after studying for several years at Wittenberg. By his comprehensive literary activity, but especially by visitations in the congregations of his diocese, he set his impress on ecclesiastical development in Denmark during the following decades more strongly than anyone else did. Hans Tausen, who later worked as a superintendent at Ribe in Jutland, also did important work, as the composer of a postil among other things. This proved to be an outstanding help for the clergy, who for the greater part had received an inadequate training. Thus the literature in the Danish language whereby the religious views of the Reformation were spread in Denmark as well as in the rest of the North consisted in a preponderating degree of translations or compilations, and that of German originals in particular.

As early as 1526 Paulus Heliae, the keen critic and passionate defender of Catholicism, published a translation of Luther's Betbüchlein ("Prayer Book"), in a reduced form, it is true, and with no intention at all of making propaganda for Lutheranism but to demonstrate that here Luther, "as was always his style," mixed "good with bad and lies with truth." It goes without saying that Luther's writings were subsequently translated in considerable volume and with the objective of giving support to the ideas of the Reformer. First place among the translators goes to Peder Palladius, but Frans Vormordsen also belongs to their number. Palladius was also the chief influence in the dissemination of the devotional books of Veit Dietrich in Denmark. Writings of Bugenhagen should also be mentioned, but, as already stated, also south German literature, writings of Urbanus Rhegius and Grentzinger as well as Oecolampadius, for example.

The production of a satisfactory translation of the Bible was one of the most important needs. As early as 1524 Christian II had made provision for a translation of the New Testament, which was printed at Lübeck. In 1529 Christiern Pedersen published a new translation in Antwerp. Tausen later made a translation of the Pentateuch on the basis of the Hebrew original. Pedersen especially lent his support to the translation of the whole Bible, which appeared in 1550 and was called "Christian III's Bible." In the field of hymnology the first experiment was made already in 1528 in a collection of chorales by Claus Mortensen printed at Malmö. It has completely disappeared today. In the same year Mortensen also published the first Lutheran order of service in Scandinavia, one that was drawn up in close connection with the Nuremberg Mass and Luther's German Mass. The first hymnbook used in the whole of Denmark was perhaps that of Hans Thomesen, preacher at the Liebfrauen Church in Copenhagen. The order of service received a more definite form through a handbook edited by Frans Vormordsen in 1539, who in the meantime had become superintendent in Lund, and also through the Alterbogen ("Altar Book") of Peder Palladius of 1556, by means of which Veit Dietrich's series of collects found entrance into Danish public worship.

As Lutheran reconstruction proceeded, institutions still remaining from the Catholic period were liquidated. The property of the chapters was secularized, among other ways in such a form that the canonries were to a great extent conferred as fiefs on royal officials. The property of the monasteries in landed estates was also either gradually confiscated by the crown or conferred as fiefs. One or the other monastic establishment nevertheless remained right into the next century, but with altered purpose.

Just as in Sweden, the church in Denmark at the beginning of the sixties of the 16th century found itself confronted by serious problems. Both lands experienced a change of rulers almost simultaneously. Christian III died in 1559, hence a year before Gustav Vasa. He was followed by his son Frederick II, a typical Renaissance prince who had no interest in religious and literary questions

during the first period of his rule. At the same time a new generation appeared in the ecclesiastical leadership. In 1560 death came to Peder Palladius, who had been the driving force in the work of reform, and in the same year to his brother Niels Palladius, who had been bishop of the diocese of Lund since 1552 and had made important contributions there. Three other episcopal sees were vacant round about 1560 and, in addition, Hans Tausen died at Ribe. Among the new bishops there was hardly one personality who could match the stature of his predecessor. This change of generations also meant that adherents of the theological views of Melanchthon, the so-called Philippism, found their way into ecclesiastical leadership almost everywhere.

In the first two decades of this period Niels Hemmingsen (Nicolaus Hemmingius) exercised a leading influence. He was the only really important theologian of Denmark, in fact, of Scandinavia, during the Reformation period, the only one whose name and work extended beyond the limits of his own country. After studies at Wittenberg had gained him a master's degree, he became professor of Greek at the University of Copenhagen in 1543 at the age of 30, and a decade later he was promoted to the position of a theological professor. His activity as a teacher at the university was of far-reaching importance. A whole generation of Danish pastors, including the majority of the new bishops mentioned above, found him to be their basic influence. This influence he exercised not only through his exegetical and dogmatical writings but in no small degree also through his postil (a series of sermon dispositions), published in 1561, as well as through a manual on pastoral theology entitled Pastor, published in the following year. At the end of the sixties he reached his zenith and with him Philippism. "The period up to 1620 is entitled to be designated as the period of the ascendency of Philippism."

The position of Philippism finds a clear expression in the 25 Articles which Frederick II published in 1569 and which to all appearances were composed by Hemmingsen. Their purpose was to set forth a synopsis of the doctrine of the Danish church as received from the time of Christian III on the

basis of the Augsburg Confession and to counteract "splintering, dissension, and disunity both in pure doctrine and in fitting ceremonies." It was pointed at Catholicism and then also – and primarily – against the numerous immigrants from the Netherlands who were of the Calvinistic faith. Assent to the 25 Articles was made a condition for residence in the land. The pure Lutheran doctrine was to be protected from the dangers that threatened it both from the Catholic Counter-Reformation as well as from Calvinism.

But Niels Hemmingsen himself fell a victim to the zeal for pure doctrine. His study of Melanchthon's writings had brought it to pass that in a number of points he had drawn closer to Calvin's views, and the accusations of Cryptocalvinism raised against his doctrine of the Lord's Supper in particular from the middle of the seventies were not unfounded. Frederick II, who manifested a growing interest in ecclesiastical matters and was especially concerned for unity within the Danish church, intervened, and proceedings lasting for several years were instituted against Hemmingsen. For a long time the latter seemed to be able to maintain his position, but repeated pressure from the outside, especially on the part of the Elector of Saxony, Frederick's brother-in-law, finally led to his fall in 1579. He was suspended from his professorship and subsequently lived in retirement without, however, being inactive and with a growing international reputation until his death in 1600 as canon of Roskilde.

Niels Hemmingsen's fall did not effect the position of Philippism, which gained further strength through the attitude of decisive rejection that Frederick II took over against the Formula of Concord.

But the battle for pure doctrine went on. At the same time the Catholic Counter-Reformation redoubled its efforts, and its prospects seemed to be growing because of the antitheses between the Lutherans and the Calvinists.

At the beginning of the 17th century the Norwegian Jesuit Laurentius Nicolai, who a few decades previously had engaged in a spirited activity in Sweden, began a powerful advance. He set his sights on results which were by no means unim-

portant. Meanwhile in 1613 a royal ordinance put an obstacle in the way of all Catholic propaganda. At the same time a furious controversy arose concerning exorcism in the baptismal ritual, a ceremony retained in Lutheranism, that also played an important role in Sweden in the battle against Calvinist influence.

In this connection Hans Paulsen Resen, who since 1597 had been a professor of theology in Copenhagen, came forward as the champion of pure doctrine. In the course of time he became the leading personality in the Danish church. He played a part in all the more important ecclesiastical concerns and therefore also in the work on a new Bible translation that was to replace the socalled "Bible of Frederick II," which had appeared in 1589, a revision which he accomplished on his own in only a few years and to which the Danish Bible of 1607 owes its existence. Especially important, however, was his work at the university. Resen also was not exempt from charges concerning deficiencies in purity of doctrine. At the beginning of the year 1614 he was called before a tribunal convened by the Council of State. Its acquittal meant his complete rehabilitation. In effect, the final decision in the battle against Cryptocalvinism was thereby also delivered. During the examination Resen enjoyed almost excessive support on the part of Christian IV. A year later he was appointed bishop of Roskilde and thereby became the chief leader of the Danish church. He now proved to be a true adherent of Luther and thereby gave the Danish church its firm moorings in Lutheranism, which were to determine its future development after the long period of controversies between different doctrinal positions.

In Norway Reformation ideas took root at an early date in the commercial city of Bergen with its strong section of German inhabitants. But for all that, the new doctrine gained ground in the land only slowly, even though the decree of the Diet of Copenhagen of 1536 naturally meant that Norway, which had completely lost its independence, should also become Lutheran. The first Lutheran bishop was Gjeble Pederssön of Bergen, who had been elected by the Catholic cathedral chapter just before the Diet of Copenhagen but

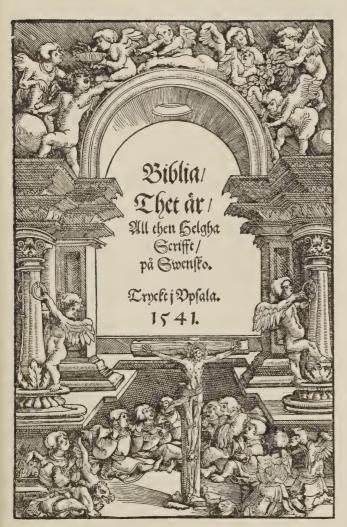
then went over without delay to the Protestant party and was active until 1557 in the energetic direction of his diocese. But the Reformation did not penetrate the rural areas until the last part of the century through the work of Jens Nilssön. He became bishop of Oslo in 1580 after having been designated as the occupant of the office for nine years. He was a powerful personality and an outstanding preacher. The bishop of Stavanger, Jörgen Erikson, a Dane by birth, who employed ruthless measures against popery and superstition in his diocese, also made a contribution. This must also be said of the pastor Peder Clausson Friis, who likewise was a powerful preacher and an iconoclast. He is known to posterity chiefly as the translator of the royal sagas of Snorri Sturluson.

In Sweden the work of the Reformation is above all linked with one name, Olaus Petri (1493-1552). He had studied at Wittenberg, gained a master's degree, and had been a witness of the important Reformation events of 1517. He returned to Sweden strongly influenced by Luther as well as by Melanchthon but still not a convinced Lutheran. During the following years he succeeded more and more in making Luther's views his own, but he always managed to retain an independent viewpoint that was to leave an impress on his whole work as a reformer. In collaboration with the royal chancellor, Magister Laurentius Andreae, who was an adherent of reform, he took in hand the measures that prepared the way for the Reformation. Together with his brother Laurentius Petri, chosen archbishop in 1531, who had also studied at Wittenberg and was a disciple of Luther, he was able to advance his work, at first with the full confidence of the king. By means of an extensive literary activity, by which he laid a foundation for the literary language of Sweden, he conveyed the thoughts of Lutheranism to the Swedish people in an independent form. The first church manual (1529), a postil (1530), the order of the Mass (1531), and the hymnbook (1536) in the Swedish language are likewise his work. He played a leading role in the translation of the New Testament (1526). The first complete translation of the Bible (1541), the so-called "Bible of Gustav Vasa," was essentially the work of Laurentius Petri. In a whole series of writings Olaus Petri launched an attack on abuses in the ecclesiastical sphere. By his Svenska krönika ("Swedish Chronicle") he gained for himself a place of honor among the older historians of Sweden. Otherwise, in Sweden as in Denmark, Reformation ideas were disseminated chiefly in translations and compilations of German literature, especially in the writings of Luther. Here, too, a strong influence was exerted both by southern and northern Germany. But neither original works in Swedish nor translated literature reached a compass that could stand comparison with the Reformation literature of Denmark.

Even after the break with Rome had become a fact, the ecclesiastical work of reform made progress only slowly. The chief motive for the king himself was probably the wish to dam up the economic power and the political influence of the church in his own interests and for the use of the state. In the sphere of purely ecclesiastical circumstances he did not want far-reaching changes, since these could only heighten the danger of the emergence of unrest. As can be seen from his resolve to again fill the episcopal seat of Uppsala, the office of bishop was retained, even if it was with strongly curtailed powers. So it was also at first with the cathedral chapters. The division into dioceses also remained unaltered at first. The property of the monasteries was taken over by the crown, but the monasteries themselves were at first allowed to continue; the last of them, Bridget's famous foundation at Vadstena, until 1595. In the meantime strong action was taken against abuses in the monastic life. Monks and nuns were urged to leave the convents and to marry.

In the matter of ecclesiastical ceremonies and usages a cautious approach was observed according to the principle often stressed by Laurentius Petri, Abusus non tollit usum ("Abuse does not abrogate usage").

Outside the larger cities the new doctrine and the new order succeeded in establishing themselves only slowly. In the rural districts unrest grew especially through the confiscation of the churches' gold and silver vessels and bells to fill the state treasury. The leadership of the Swedish church was at first divided. Although the majority of the episcopal seats were empty round about 1530 because the former occupants had permanently fled the land, the king did not succeed in setting up the ecclesiastical leadership in such a way that it could have provided support for the Reformation. Despite everything, however, it was possible to push ahead with the Reformation on the paths that Olaus Petri, Laurentius Andreae, and Laurentius Petri had pointed out. In the final analysis this would not have taken place without the sober foresight of Laurentius Petri coupled with his stubborn endurance. A synod at Uppsala in 1536, with the silent approval of the king, was able to make decisive decisions in relation to public worship, preaching, and ecclesiastical order, by which the Swedish church became the Protestant state church. In the year 1541 the first complete Swedish translation of the Bible was printed, the so-called "Bible of Gustav Vasa," in the preparation of which Laurentius Petri had played a leading role. But a few years previously a rupture of relations with the king had taken place, for German advisers who had been brought in had influenced the king in the direction of a purely state-church ideal after the German provincial-princely type. In a sharp letter to the archbishop the king directed heavy criticism against the manner in which the reformers had prosecuted the work of the Reformation. In his view they were aiming at building up a position of ecclesiastical power at the expense of the power of the state. At the end of the same year, on his own initiative, he published an ordinance regarding a new church leadership that was inspired by a German, George Norman, who had been called into the country as the teacher of Prince Eric. The decisions of Västerås were suspended, and the bishops were set aside as ecclesiastical leaders. Shortly afterwards the king initiated proceedings against Olaus Petri and Laurentius Andreae. All the difficulties the king had encountered during the exercise of his rule were laid to the charge of their activity. In January 1540 both of them were condemned to death but then pardoned. With George Norman as a kind of ecclesiastical minister and superintendent-in-general, a reconstruc-



Swedish Bible, 1541. Title page by Lucas Cranach the Elder (Lund, University Library)

tion of the Swedish church was now undertaken in the direction of a pure state church, which, in the last analysis, was to be directed by the king inasmuch as he appointed its officials on his own plenary authority.

When Olaus Petri and Laurentius Andreae died almost simultaneously in 1552 and George Normann soon followed them, Laurentius Petri became the leader of the church as a matter of course. and that not only in name. By means of a far-reaching literary activity he obtained a new hearing for the Reformation views that had shown the way in the earlier period. He regarded it as his most important task to provide a church order that could bestow unity and stability on ecclesiastical conditions in the land. But a few decades had to pass by before this work was brought to a conclusion. During the whole of the rest of his reign Gustav Vasa hardened in his antipathy to an independent ecclesiastical leadership. He appointed pastors at his own discretion so that Laurentius Petri finally remained as the single bearer of the title of bishop, so rich in historical associations. That the old king, for all that, gradually made the basic views and ideas of Lutheran doctrine his own can be seen from the testament he left behind.

After Gustav Vasa's death a disturbed period began for the Swedish church, and it continued into the next century. Gustav Vasa's oldest son and heir to the throne, Eric XIV, had received an education such as was usual for a Renaissance prince, and just like his brothers John and Charles he was well trained also in theology. One can hardly say that the new king was interested personally in religious and ecclesiastical matters. He continued ecclesiastical policy according to his father's guidelines, but the leadership rested in the hands of the old archbishop. The seventies have been called the great decade of Laurentius Petri. His abilities as a leader and defender of Swedish Lutheranism were put to a hard test when it was required to fight the influence Calvinistic foreigners had managed to obtain over the king, among them the king's own teacher and councillor, the Frenchman Dionysius Beurreus. The so-called "Liquor Controversy," which bore its name because a debate developed

whether the wine at the Lord's Supper could be replaced by water or another fluid, nevertheless ended in a complete victory for the archbishop.

When Eric XIV, who was of unsound mind, was deposed in 1569 and was followed by his brother John III, it was possible for Laurentius Petri, only two years before his death, to regard his goal as having been reached. In 1571 the church order for which he had worked for several decades was established. With this it seemed that the Swedish Lutheran church had received an enduring basis.

But already after a few years, almost immediately after the old archbishop's death in 1572, threatening clouds again gathered. John III, in no small degree under the influence of his wife, a Polish princess from the house of Jagellon, began to carry out an ecclesiastical policy that aimed at drawing closer to Rome. Research supplies very different motives for his action. While it is stressed on the one side that the personal religious convictions of the king were decisive and that as an ultimate goal he was trying to make the whole Swedish church Catholic again and to effect a return to Rome, it is claimed on the other side that under the influence of the mediating thoughts of the Catholic theologian George Cassander and as a result of his own aesthetically conditioned wishes he had carried out ecclesiastical reforms that were bound to give offense to the orthodox Lutherans but that he had no intention at all of making Sweden a Catholic land. The negotiations with Rome accordingly were above all conditioned by political considerations and had something to do with John's hopes of being able to play a role in power politics.

The first step in his work as a reformer was taken by the king in the so-called *Nova ordinantia* adopted in the year 1575 at a synod in Uppsala. John himself and his ecclesiastical collaborators described this as a mere appendix to the church order of 1571. In essential parts this gives expression to the viewpoints of Cassander, especially in the numerous references to the doctrine of the ancient church and to the church fathers. At the same time, the new archbishop, who likewise bore the name Laurentius Petri, and two other bishops were compelled to allow themselves to be ordained with the



Bible illustration for the Book of Job by George Lemberger. Used only in this edition of the Bible (Lund, University Library)

aid of insignia and ceremonies that belonged to episcopal consecration in the Middle Ages, and among these the anointing evoked strong opposition. In the following year, then, John published a new order of public worship that kindled strife. The very title, Liturgia svecanae ecclesiae catbolicae et orthodoxae conformis ("The Liturgy Conforming to the Swedish Church Catholic and Orthodox"), manifested the king's wish to establish a connection with the old ecclesiastical tradition of public worship. The opponents of the "Red Book," as the liturgy was generally called, declared that it was "papistical," especially in what concerned the Lord's Supper. This liturgy supplied the direct occasion for the most serious conflict in the history of the Swedish church. John succeeded in having it adopted in most districts of the country. Its most serious opponents, among them the later archbishop Abrahamus Andreae Angermannus, were deposed. At the same time the Catholic influence gained more and more strength. In the former Franciscan monastery in Stockholm a Collegium regium ("A Royal College") was set up under the leadership of the Norwegian Jesuit Laurentius Nicolai. The papal legate Antonio Possevino, who visited southern Sweden on several occasions, conducted negotiations between the king and the papal see and seemed to entertain firm hopes of bringing the Swedish church back to Rome.

The Catholic influence reached its climax towards the end of the seventies of the 16th century. A report from Possevino to Rome claimed that the king, after confession and absolution, in May 1578 had participated in a Mass celebrated by Possevino and had at that occasion received the Sacrament according to the Roman rite. But at the beginning of the eighties a reaction set in. The pope declined to agree to John's conditions of union with Rome, and since the political situation changed just at this time, the king was scared off. The cooperation with the papal power was thereby closed, however far the king had thought of pushing it.

But this by no means meant that the tensions in the ecclesiastical sphere now ceased. Quite to the contrary! The struggle concerning the liturgy hardened. John made ever more energetic efforts to have it adopted in the whole realm. The persecutions of the antiliturgists were intensified. John's relations with his younger brother, Duke Charles, and the question of the conditions of sovereignty in the principate of this brother had a strong influence on the course of the struggle. Charles emerged as the defender of the reformatory traditions of the time of Gustav Vasa, and his duchy became a place of refuge for some of the opponents of the liturgy.

Internal and external political conditions finally led to improved relations between the king and Duke Charles, and the last year of John's reign until his death in 1592 passed in relative quiet. The new liturgy diminished in significance. The change on the throne made the danger of an attempt to reestablish Catholicism acute. Before Sigismund, the successor to the throne, who had been raised in the Catholic faith and who had been chosen king of Poland in 1587, returned to Sweden, to have himself crowned as king of Sweden too, a national agreement on this matter, among others, was reached at a meeting in Uppsala in March 1593. Here the liturgy was abolished and the church order of 1571 reconfirmed. Furthermore, an official explanation was given that the three confessions of faith belonging to the ancient church and the Augsburg Confession are the confessional writings of the Swedish church. Together with the decision of this meeting, the preface to the church order, and other matters, these writings were published in the course of the year under the title Confessio Fidei ("Confession of Faith"). Those who took part in the meeting promised to defend this decision with all their might. At the election of a new archbishop held at the same time, Abrahamus Angermannus, the most violent opponent of the liturgy, was selected and the election confirmed by Duke Charles, who, in the absence of the king, carried on the government together with the Council of State. On his arrival, the demand was placed before Sigismund III to give an assurance in respect to religion before the coronation could take place. The king had to agree. During the following years the controversies intensified anew. When Sigismund made an attempt to assert his position by armed force but was defeated in the battle near Stångebro in 1598, the Catholic danger was removed from the scene. In the following year Sigismund III was deposed as king of Sweden. The quarrels concerning the throne still caused all kinds of confusions subsequently. Archbishop Abrahamus Angermannus, for example, had belonged to the adherents of Sigismund III. When Duke Charles emerged victorious, he was relieved of his office.

The decision of the meeting at Uppsala by itself appears to be of little significance. But it turned out to be of the greatest significance inasmuch as it laid the basis for a Swedish Lutheranism on a national basis. It is true, it still had to be exposed to serious hardships but through the meeting at Uppsala it nevertheless experienced a degree of consolidation that enabled it, under the leadership of a number of important pastors, to withstand all assaults.

With the accession to the throne by Gustav II, surnamed Adolf, more peaceful times set in for the church. The controversies in regard to doctrine and ceremonies ended, and the questions on church law and organization were on the whole solved in a

spirit of agreement. The position of the episcopal office gained new strength. Of the measures to which Charles lent his support some had already been introduced at the beginning of Gustav Adolf's term of office. In 1613 the archbishop obtained permission to print a new church manual, and five years later the king was able to give his approval to the new Bible translation and have it printed. The preliminary work for this had been done by a commission set up in 1600 by King Charles. It was completed without any far-reaching revision. John Rudbeck was the driving force behind this.

Even if important ecclesiastical questions still awaited a solution, inasmuch as the king and the ecclesiastical leadership represented antithetical positions in essential points, still the Swedish church at the outbreak of the great religious war in 1618 occupied a strongly consolidated position. This constituted one of the most essential prerequisites of the decisive role that Gustav II, surnamed Adolf, and Sweden were destined to play in the Thirty Years' War.

KRISTER GIEROW



Christian II, king of Denmark. Woodcut by Lucas Cranach the Elder in the Danish translation of the New Testament of 1523 (Copenhagen, Royal Library)

Below: View of Lund. Copper engraving by Franz Hogenberg in *Civitas orbis terrarum*, IV, 1588, by Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg. (Lund, University Library)

Right: Pulpit in the Lund cathedral completed by Johannes Gansrog from Frankfort on the Oder. Finished in 1592









Left: Gustav Vasa. Illustration of a law manuscript (Stockholm, Royal Library)

Above, right: Frederick I, king of Denmark. Painting by Jacob Bink (Frederiksborg, National Historical Museum)

Below, right: View of Stockholm, Copper engraving by Franz Hogenberg in *Civitas orbis* terrarum, IV, 1588, by Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg (Lund, University Library)











Page 214, above: View of Malmö (Elbogen). Copper engraving by Franz Hogenberg in *Civitas orbis terrarum*, IV, 1588, by Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg (Lund, University Library)

Below: View of Copenhagen (Hafnia). Copper engraving by Franz Hogenberg in *Civitas orbis terrarum*, IV, 1588, by Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg (Lund, University Library) Left: "Ecclesiastical Order," title page, 1537 (Copenhagen, Royal Library)

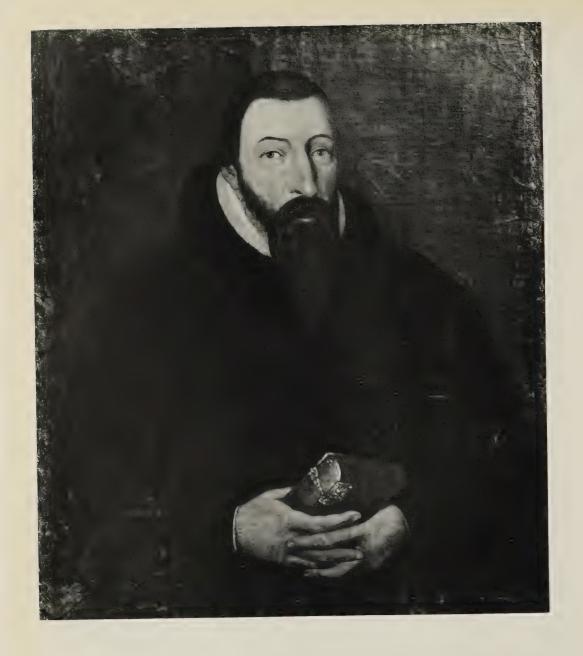
Right: Title page of the first Danish Mass, 1528 (Copenhagen, Royal Library)



Left: Niels Hemmingsen (1513–1600). Danish theologian (Frederiksborg, National Historical Museum)

Right: "The Bible." First complete Danish translation of the Bible. Title page with a woodcut by Lucas Cranach th Elder, 1550 (Lund, University Library)

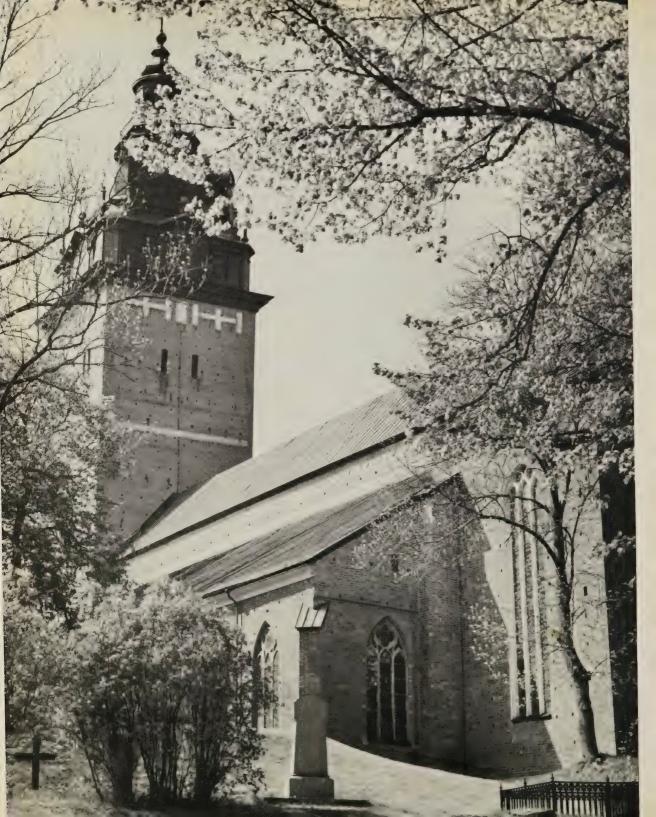




Jens Nilssön (1538–1600). Teacher and bishop of Oslo and Hamar (1580–1600). Painting by an unknown contemporary master (Oslo cathedral)



Peter Claussön Friis (1545–1614). Norwegian priest and translator of Snorri Sturluson sagas. Painting probably by Peter Reimers, 16th century (Valle/Sör-Audnedal, Church)



Left: Cathedral in Strängnäs, where Olaus Petri was first active. Consecrated in 1291. The present building dates mainly from the 15th century

Right: Interior of the Strängnäs cathedral



Above: Seal of Olaus Petri (Stockholm, Swedish National Archives)

Below: Grave plates of Nathan Söderblom and Olaus Petri in the cathedral at Uppsala







Left: Frontal from the church in Torslunde, 1561 (Copenhagen, National Museum)

Right: Epitaph of Bishop Petrus Jonae (1539–1607) in the possession of the cathedral in Strängnäs. Painting by an unknown contemporary master



ET:HVAR:OCH:EN;SOM:TROOR:VPA:ECIT ** CRISTVS; AR:DOD:FOR:VA MIDFR:SKVI : OCH:VPSTANDEN:FOR:VAR:RETERDICHET: ROM4

H. AR: VINDER: LICHER: BEGRAFVEN: SAL O: LICYD: MESTENTIDER: DISE ON: SIN: HVSTRO: HVILKEN: AFSONNADE: HER ANOM: DEN: 4: DEE: AND HINO: /607: DC: H: BLFT: AFM AL AD: MED: ZIZINI: HVSTROR: OCH: 6: SINI MARN: TEN: 7: SEPTEMBR: ANNOT/608 + EHVAD: VINV: LIF /A: BLER: DOI: MARN: TEN: 7: SEPTEMBR: ANNOT/608 + EHVAD: VINV: LIF /A: BLER: DOI: MRE: VI: HER ANOM: TIL: TO: CHRIST VS: MR: THER: VPADODOCH: VPS. / Left: Tomb of Johann III, king of Sweden, by W. van der Bloche (Uppsala, Cathedral)

Right: Gustavus II Adolphus, king of Sweden. Woodcut in the translation of the Bible, 1618 (Stockholm, Royal Library)







Bishop John Rudbeck (Stockholm, Swedish Portrait Archives)

FINLAND

The introduction of the Reformation into Finland was facilitated by the active cultural contacts existing between Finland and Germany at the close of the Middle Ages. Commercially Finland had already for centuries been in the sphere of influence of the Hanseatic League, but higher education was at first received in France. The last medieval bishops were still students of the University of Paris, but the younger, leading clergy had already received its higher education in Germany. Especially Rostock and Greifswald, the universities on the Baltic coast, were preferred. In 1516 - a year before the Reformation - young Petrus Särkilahti came to Rostock, moving to Louvain already the following autumn. His name is not listed in the rosters of Wittenberg University, but the Finnish episcopal chronicles of Paul Juusten, a Finnish reformer, claim that he was the first of the Wittenberg group to proclaim the pure Protestant doctrine in the schools and churches of Finland. His return to his homeland probably took place in 1522. In the same year the last Catholic bishop of Turku, the only episcopal see of the country, drowned in a rising tide in the Gulf of Bothnia while fighting the Danes in the Swedish-Finnish struggle for freedom. When Gustav Vasa became king of Sweden the following year and Finland became independent of the Danes, contacts with the outside world could again be resumed. New opportunities for proclaiming the Protestant doctrine became available. We know very little about the manner in which the first contacts with the Reformation were

made. It is possible that along with the theological-academic contacts also Protestant influence found its way into the country by way of the German trade cities and Livonia. The influence of the Protestant doctrine was actually very small when the Swedish Diet of Västerås – speaking also for Finland – decided in 1527 to weaken the strong economic position of the Catholic Church and thus to open the door for Protestant proclamation. When it was stated that "the Word of God shall be preached in its purity," this had even less meaning for Finland than Sweden.

The abuses in the Catholic Church are generally claimed to have caused the Reformation and to have been the occasion for it. This hardly applies to Finland, where the Catholic Church was still young and the abuses were not especially important matters. In Sweden the wealth and political influence of the bishops brought about the indignation at the Catholic Church. For King Gustav Vasa the Reformation was a means for strengthening the economic and political position of the crown. In Finland such conditions did not exist, for the church was relatively poor and the Catholic bishops had worked only for the good of the country. But since Finland belonged to the kingdom of Sweden, the consequences of the collapse of the Catholic Church in Sweden had its effect on Finland. But here the practical introduction of the Reformation remained in the hands of Finnish men. This was the case because the language of the majority of the people was Finnish, not Swedish.

Books used in worship and also other literature of the Swedish Reformation could therefore be used only in the Swedish-speaking congregations. For the rank and file of the people, who were Finnish, their own order of service and Protestant literature had to be produced. For this reason the Finnish Reformation needs to be considered separately although it was strongly influenced by the developments in the Church of Sweden.

Since only few manifest abuses existed in Finland, the Reformation proceeded quietly and uniformly. The leading men were discreet, and the older generation clearly bore the stamp of reform Catholicism. After the Diet of Västerås Finland again received its own bishop, Martin Skytte, a former Dominican of the Finnish nobility. Officially he was appointed the Protestant bishop and consecrated without papal sanction, but by a bishop whose consecration had been sanctioned by the pope. Thus apostolic succession was preserved as well in the Finnish Church as it had been in the Swedish. Skytte's piety was still Catholic. Following an arrangement made by the government, he was, however, willing to send young men as students to Wittenberg when the opportunity presented itself in the early thirties of the 16th century. This proved to be a decisive step in the Reformation in Finland. From the circle of the Wittenberg masters came men whose task was to be the molding of Finland's church into Protestant form. The bishop must also be credited with organizing the worship life according to Protestant order when in 1536 such an order became binding for the entire kingdom of Sweden. The practical carrying out of the Reformation was already being done by men of a younger generation.

Bishop Skytte's chief merit was his irenic approach. Thanks to his influence, the collaboration between the old generation, which had received its training in the Catholic era, and the young Wittenberg masters proceeded without friction. The Reformation in Finland was therefore brought about without serious clashes. No violent measures are reported. It is claimed that from only one of the five mendicant cloisters were the monks driven out in the thirties. Because of peaceful progress,

much of what was destroyed elsewhere in the storm of the Reformation was retained both in Finland and in Sweden. To this heritage from the Middle Ages belong not only the pictures in the churches but also the liturgical vestments and many ancient ceremonies. Neither were there apparent changes in church organization, for along with the episcopacy even the cathedral chapter was retained, though in reduced form.

The congregation became aware of the changes brought about by the Reformation primarily by a change in language in the church. At first the service was conducted only partly but then gradually altogether in the language of the people. Finnish was really not a literary language in the Middle Ages, although the church did use it, among other things, in confession and in sermons. Toward the end of the Middle Ages it had been ordered that certain prayers and parts of the catechism should be written in the language of the people so the priest could read them in the same form on every festival day. Of course none of these short memoranda have been preserved. Since the Reformation required that the Word of God be proclaimed in the language of the people, this finally stimulated a general development of folk literature. In Finland this had special significance, for the Reformation created the Finnish literary language, and the reformer of the country, Michael Agricola, is also the father of this language.

Michael Agricola belongs to the masters from Wittenberg, where he studied from 1536 to 1539 under Luther and Melanchthon. Intellectually he was a humanist of the Melanchthon type but as translator of the Bible a student of Luther. He had begun his work of translating the New Testament already in Wittenberg. It is probable that he was sent to Wittenberg to carry out this assignment. Upon his return he became headmaster of the cathedral school of Turku. Alongside his demanding schoolwork he was engaged in literary work. After nine years he resigned from his position in the school and engaged himself in ever-increasing measure in the duties of the aging Bishop Skytte, although he did not officially hold an administrative position. When the bishop died in 1550, the see remained vacant for four years. Agricola was



The Boy Jesus. Illustration on the last page of "Songs and Prophecies from the Law of Moses and from the Prophets," by Michael Agricola, Stockholm, 1551 (Helsinki, University Library)

now the leading figure in the cathedral chapter although not the senior in point of service.

The literary work of Agricola consisted mainly of translations and revisions. His prayerbook, which appeared in 1544 and was intended both for public and private use, is his most independent work. For its content he drew both from the medieval and Reformation sources – at times even from mystic-spiritualistic sources. Whatever in medieval literature was contrary to the Protestant concept of faith was simply removed. Although as a reformer Agricola was more conservative than the continental reformers – even more so than those in Sweden – there is nevertheless no doubt concerning his clearly Protestant stance. As elsewhere so also in Finland the Bible translation constituted the foundation of folk literature.

After many difficulties Agricola's New Testament was printed in 1548 and brought out in Turku by himself and his colleagues. He also translated and published about a fourth of the Old Testament and several liturgical books. His goal was of course the translation of the entire Bible, but he never reached it because public work made increasing claims on Agricola. The sale of his books was relatively limited.

In 1554 Agricola actually became the bishop of Turku, and at the same time Finland was divided into two bishoprics. Eastern Finland received its own bishop with the see in Viipuri. When Gustav Vasa decreased the size of the diocese, Agricola perceived that the king wanted to reduce the great respect enjoyed by the bishops as heirs of medieval benefits and demote them to the position of a superintendent or provost. Agricola therefore had himself installed as bishop with pompous ceremonies in full Catholic regalia. This was in harmony with the Finnish as well as the Swedish Reformation, which concerned itself only with doctrine and wished to leave the organization of the church intact. The church's freedom from the state was guarded as closely as in medieval times, for it was unwilling to subject itself in all things as a state church under the will of the monarch. Agricola carried on a persistent undercover fight against the ruthless policies of the king, who sought to gain possession of the church's sources of revenue so indispensable for the church if its culture and schools were to be preserved.

Agricola's episcopate was brief, and so he had little time for extensive planning, especially because war broke out in the land. He died in 1557 immediately after his return from Moscow, where he had negotiated for peace. He can nevertheless be designated the reformer of Finland because of his literary activity.

Besides him the somewhat younger Paul Juusten must be recognized as one of the great men of the Finnish Reformation. He also studied at Wittenberg, from where he was forced to flee because of the Schmalkaldic War, thereafter visiting some other German universities. Juusten became bishop of his hometown Viipuri and later of Turku. He too was sent to Moscow as a negotiator. Unable to carry out his assignment, he was forced to languish in a Russian prison for 3 years. Juusten also was a distinguished author. Unfortunately his only extant work is a Finnish-language Mass. More eagerly than Agricola he strove to return to the rich liturgical treasures of the Catholic era this becomes evident upon comparison of the Masses of the two men. Toward the end of his episcopate he experienced the first symptoms of the Counter-Reformation. One of his last duties was the consecration of the archbishop of Uppsala with all the ancient ceremonies. King John III, who was interested in external glory, had dreams of restoring the unity of the church on a Catholic foundation and had chosen the archbishop in the hope that he would lead the Church of Sweden back to Catholicism. At first the Counter-Reformation manifested itself in Sweden-Finland in the harmless form of John's liturgical endeavors. Not until the reign of his son Sigismund, who was reared Catholic, could a return to Catholicism be considered a possibility. The leading men of the Finnish Church, where only a few reforms had been introduced, were willing to adopt the Catholicizing liturgy of King John. Neither had the Reformation become rooted in the rank and file of the people, whose natural conservative attitudes inclined them toward retention of Catholic ceremonies. In isolated instances regular Catholic propaganda was carried on. A number of young Finns



Finnish New Testament of 1548. Illustration showing the evangelist Matthew. Already used in the Swedish edition of 1541 (Helsinki, University Library)

entered schools of the Jesuits in foreign lands, but few of them were able to return at the right time to work in their homeland for the good of the Catholic Church. The firm loyalty of the Finnish nobility to the Catholic King Sigismund, who reigned over the Swedes and Poles in the nineties of the 16th century, was not of course by and large rooted in their sympathy for Catholicism. Only aspects of legitimacy and the consideration of advantageous foreign policy if Sweden and Poland were united in a personal union were live issues.

Under Duke Charles rugged Lutheranism finally won the victory in Sweden. The Finns were left on the side of the losers. At the 1593 church convention in Uppsala, where the Augsburg Confession was adopted for the entire kingdom, Erik Sorolainen, bishop of Turku, was forced to apologize for supporting the liturgy of King John, Although Sorolainen and the other Finns remained faithful to King Sigismund in the political unrest of the following years, they showed no inclination toward Catholicism. On the contrary, precisely this man, who had studied in Rostock under the direction of Lutheran theologians, became to a certain extent the third and last reformer of Finland. He faithfully completed the cultic changes that removed the last ceremonies of the Catholic era, among them the elevation of the host in the Eucharist and the use of salt and candles in Baptism. He also considered it important that the essence and the necessity of the changes be explained to people. Sorolainen thus became an active promoter of Finnish church literature. His two-volume postil - over a hundred years the only Finnish one - shows that the scholarly sermon style adopted in the later Reformation period had found its way also into Finland. When Sorolainen began his episcopal career of four decades, Finland was still in many respects a half-Catholic country. By the time of his death in 1625 Lutheranism had become deeply rooted in the ranks of the people.

The Finnish Reformation period came to a close with Sorolainen. After him began the period of orthodoxy that introduced strict church discipline and intensive instruction for the uniform training of the people. If we ask when the Finnish people

actually accepted the main principle of the Reformation, that is, justification by faith, it will be necessary to move the boundaries of that time considerably farther into modern times. It was at the turn of the 18th century that the new revival movements taught the people to really understand the Protestant faith.

Visible monuments of the Finnish Reformation are extremely rare. At the end of the Middle Ages Finland was a small, poor, and sparsely populated country. Yet some 80 remaining gray stone churches testify of the influence of the medieval period. Their simple style is characteristic of Finland's culture and nature. The Reformation period can point to nothing comparable in church construction, for Gustav Vasa's appropriation of church property and revenue made the church poor. The new churches were built of wood, and weather and fire have destroyed them long ago. The impoverishment of the church also brought to an end the flowering of church art although the Finnish Reformation was not opposed to it. The only important monument of church art from the later Reformation period are the paintings preserved in the Isokyrö church, representing Biblical pictures in the style of the Biblia pauperum. Neither can church literature boast of impressive works that could be placed alongside the parchment manuscripts of the Middle Ages or the Missale Aboense printed in Lübeck in 1488, which is the finest specimen in the history of Finland's bookmaking.

Earlier treasures were destroyed when both liturgical and other books were torn apart because they were no longer needed. They were used for covers for ledgers sent to Sweden to the king's accounting chambers. Literary productions are nevertheless the true monuments of the Finnish Reformation. They are the works of the Finnish reformers named above. From the viewpoint of artistic bookmaking they do not rise above the level of the average, and their wood engravings are usually importations. But in content they are actual treasures in a double sense – in the national and the religious – for in them is contained the beginning of what is truly new.

The poverty of the Finnish Reformation period is

also apparent in the lack of any portraits of the leading reformers of the time. The identity of a picture of Martin Skytte is uncertain. The statues erected in our century first in Viipuri and later in

Turku in honor of Michael Agricola, as far as the facial features are concerned, are representations of the artist's imagination. These men actually speak to us only through their writings.

KAUKO PIRINEN



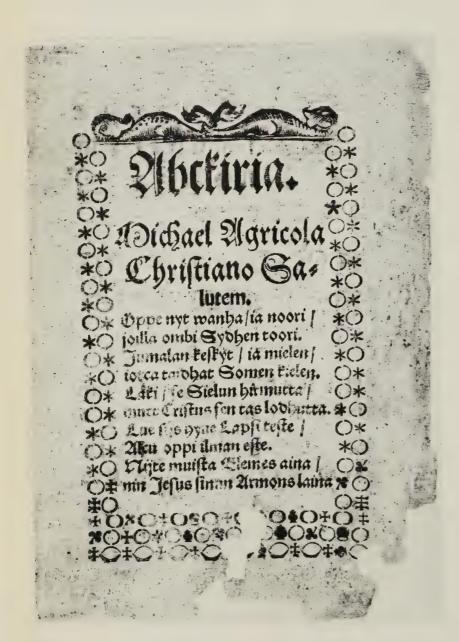
Probably a representation of the Dominican prior Martin Skytte, the later bishop of Turku. Embroidery on a burse (Turku, Cathedral) Left: Ruins of the medieval bishops' castle Kuusisto. The castle was destroyed after the Diet of Västerås

Right: Isokyrö. Interior of the church, showing secco painting of the later Reformation era, after 1560





Michael Agricola, "ABC Book." Primer with instruction for learning the written language. In addition to reading exercises it contains parts of the catechism and the Ave Maria. Beginning of Finnish national literature. Second edition, Stockholm, 1549 (Helsinki, University Library)



Title page of Michael Agricola's Finnish New Testament. Prin ed in Stockholm by Amun Laurentsson, 1548. The border was used by the royal printing establishment as early as 1526–1539 (Helsinki, University Library)





Interior of the church of Pernaja, showing medieval decoration



Above: Title page of the handbook by Michael Agricola "Handbook for Baptism and Other Rites of Christendom," Stockholm, 1549 (Helsinki, University Library)

Below: Title page of "The Prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi," by Michael Agricola, Stockholm, 1552 (Helsinki, University Library)





THE NETHERLANDS

As early as the 14th century a movement in the Netherlands, present-day Holland and Belgium, that reached deep into Lower Germany and was not altogether without influence on Luther prepared the way for the Reformation through its Biblical-evangelical content. This devotio moderna divided itself into two branches, the monastic congregation at Windesheim, which carried out an efficient program of monastic reform in wide circles, and closely connected with this "The Brethren of the Common Life," who, without taking a vow, lived a community life in fraternal houses, strengthened themselves by pious exercises, and strove for a renewal of life. The founder of this movement was Gerhard Groote of Deventer. Its richest fruit was the famous devotional booklet De imitatione Christi ("On the Imitation of Christ"), which Thomas a Kempis composed in the monastery on St. Agnesberg near Zwolle. The learned humanist Wessel Gansfort of Groningen also sprang from this movement. Luther said of him: "If I had read Wessel previously, my adversaries would have thought that Luther had taken everything from Wessel. So much our spirit is in agreement!"

The world-famous "king of humanists," Erasmus of Rotterdam, was also a pupil of the Brethren in his youth. More sharply than others and often with ready wit, the native of Rotterdam criticized the abuses current in the church, especially in the life of priests and monks. What he lacked to become a reformer was the power of faith and

courage for martyrdom. He loved the undisturbed life in the service of learning, preferred a detached Catholic-irenical standpoint, and hoped that the rediscovery of the classical spirit would promote true humanity, identical with true Christianity. Even so, the great humanist exerted an unmistakable influence on the Reformation already in this respect that his edition of the Greek New Testament with a Latin translation and annotations rendered priceless service to Luther in his translation of the Bible into German on the Wartburg. Luther found adherents in the Netherlands at an early date. His example was encouraging. His Bible translation was rendered into the local language; many of his early writings were reprinted here, and his songs were sung in wide circles. Especially in the Augustinian monasteries monks were to be found who felt themselves linked with him.

The Netherlands formed a unique constituent in the Spanish monarchy as a whole. They became the property of the house of Habsburg by marriage in 1478. Charles V, who grew up in the southern Netherlands, wanted to secure this continental strong point not only for Spanish power politics but also for the Catholic Church. Here he tried to carry out what aroused so much opposition in Germany. As early as September 1520 the papal legate Aleander managed to get a mandate put through according to which the writings of the Wittenberg monk were to be publicly burned. He himself conducted the burning of books in Lou-

vain, and after the Edict of Worms in 1521 similar burnings followed in Antwerp, Ghent, and Utrecht. In these days Erasmus disappeared to Basel.

The first blood witnesses of the Reformation fell victims to the Inquisition in Brussels. Two members of Luther's order from Antwerp, Henry Voss and John van den Esschen mounted the funeral pyre at the instigation of the imperial and papal inquisitor, Frans van der Hulst. In his first song, Ein neues Lied wir beben an ("A New Song Here Shall Be Begun"), Luther praised God, who had borne witness to the genuineness of the Gospel preached by him with the blood of martyrs, and he published an exultant and optimistic "Circular to the Christians of the Netherlands" in which he said: "The time has now returned for us to hear the voice of the turtledove and for blossoms to spring up in our land."

Nevertheless, Luther did not permanently influence the course of the Reformation in the Netherlands. Biblical humanism was very popular in ruling circles, and the Wittenberg Reformer could not find a following in his radical theological protest. At the same time, there were to be found here, in part closely connected with this humanism, many "Sacramentarians," or "Sacramentists," who preferred a spiritual view of the sacrament. They acknowledged an interpretation of the sacrament influenced by Wessel Gansfort, according to which the elements have only a symbolical meaning. These views, which the advocate Cornelisz Hoen put down in writing in a letter, were sharply rejected by Luther but taken over by Zwingli. Henrikus Bommelius, who came from the ranks of the Brothers of the Common Life, also belongs to this group linked with humanism. Under the influence of Luther's early writings he wrote anonymously a "Summary of Godly Scriptures," which was confiscated already in 1524. Under Zwingli's influence these humanistic and spiritualistic groups developed along the lines of a school of thought that was later called the National-Reformed. Well-known representatives were Anastasius Veluanus, the author of the "Guide for the Laity," and later Caspar Janszoon Coolhaes. Here and there acts of violence during processions resulted, and there were also martyrs.

But these first encounters with reformed thinking did not succeed in kindling a people's movement. The Anabaptists were the first to take hold of the broad masses in the Netherlands. Different spiritualistic, chiliastic, and apocalyptic groups developed who had links with the Anabaptist movement of western Germany, where Melchior Hofmann requires mention. They attacked each other in many sharp encounters but were all one in their violent criticism of the Roman Church and of the Reformation attempts so far. They strove to establish congregations of holy men, hankered after martyrdom, and in many ways threatened the social order by revolutionary excrescences. There was strong participation in the disorders of Münster on the part of the Anabaptists in the Netherlands, and from this quarter the Anabaptist regime drew its chief reinforcements. Jan Matthysz came from Haarlem and Jan Bokelszoon from Leyden to the "heavenly Jerusalem." The excitement reached its highest peak during the months in which Münster was besieged and relieved its tension in such elementary folk movements as the journey of "the three thousand children of Israel" over the Zuiderzee. Revolutionary Anabaptists made an attempt at this time to take possession of Amsterdam. But all attempts ended in mass executions. The whole Reformation movement suffered heavy damage through these agitations on the part of the Anabaptists.

After the fall of Münster had cooled glowing ardor, new confidants tried to rally the remnants from among the Anabaptists who had escaped the catastrophe. Menno Simons was able to win the leadership in opposition to the extravagantly fantastic David Jorisz and other radical preachers. Deeply stirred by the zeal for martyrdom among some of the Anabaptists, he resigned his priest-hood at Witmarsum in Frisia in 1536, and then, after apostolic example, he organized a number of Baptist congregations purified from all fanatical aberrations for whom he wrote the Fundament boeck ("Book of Fundamentals"). Thousands of these "quiet" Baptists also fell victims to persecution.

The emperor promulgated one edict after another against the printing and spreading of heretical books, as well as against the heretics themselves.

But the execution of these measures depended on the goodwill of the provincial estates, the socalled states and city authorities. In any case, the latter often applied the edicts in the mildest manner possible. Protestantism could therefore spread in many places in secret in spite of the emperor's zeal. At the Diet of Augsburg in 1548 Charles V brought it to pass that the provinces of the Netherlands were accorded a certain measure of independence within the empire as the "Burgundian Zone" under the supreme sovereignty of the Spanish prince. Although the rights belonging to them as estates were thus guaranteed to the provinces, the emperor hoped in this way to be able to make them more serviceable to the will of the prince. In 1550 the regulations were sharpened up a second time, and the death penalty as well as the confiscation of property was extended over all who did not report a heretic or who printed forbidden books, sold them, or possessed them.

But in spite of all persecutions and denunciations the number of Protestants grew continually. At this time the Calvinism imported by fugitives from northern France gained a firm footing in the Netherlands, above all in the cities of the southern Walloon provinces. In many respects the Calvinists became the heirs of humanism, Lutheranism, and Anabaptism but in addition possessed great powers of recruitment and organization. By means of them the Reformation was more successful. Its positive, aggressive attitude in politics also provided Calvinism with an entrance to certain classes of the nobility who were concerned about preserving the rights belonging to their estate.

The battle for the freedom of the Netherlands against the attempt to make them Spanish was also destined to coincide with the protest of the Calvinists against the papacy. By this combination of religious and patriotic ideals the people were readied for their fight to the death. A new arrangement of bishoprics, which not only meant a strengthening of the hierarchy but was also calculated to make the higher clergy a pliant tool of Spanish politics, was taken in very bad part as an interference in national rights and freedom, especially in the highest echelons of the nobility, who were still fully loyal to the old church.

In the meantime, in 1555 Charles V had committed the sovereignty over the Netherlands to his son Philip II. For the time being, he himself took up residence in his inherited domains. This made the situation worse, for it was impossible for him to understand the free and self-conscious spirit that confronted him in the Estates General. Philip left the land already in 1559 never to return there. The governorship was transferred to the half-sister of the king, Margaret of Parma. Now the fight became a matter of life and death! A privy council from the upper nobility under the direction of Cardinal Granvelle, the archbishop of Mechelen, was associated with the governor. But the opposition of national interests to Spanish world politics also made itself felt in this centralized royal committee. Prince William of Orange, provincial governor of Holland, Zeeland, and Utrecht, who had been reared at the court in Brussels in the old faith and who belonged to the principality of Nassau, which was Lutheran but friendly to the emperor, became the leader of the opposition seconded by the Catholic Counts Egmont and Horn. At the beginning of the clash it was not ecclesiastical antitheses which stood in the foreground, but above all it was rather a matter of rights on which Philip had sworn an oath: that every one must be judged before his own tribunal; that no foreign troops must be tolerated in the land; that taxation required the approval of the estates of the land. In addition to this, the Netherlands did not want any bloody persecution of heretics. The most immediate goal was the overthrow of Granvelle and the transfer of the chief weight of the central government to the Estates General. Since Margaret also let him drop, the cardinal was actually recalled.

When the opposition now requested a mitigation of the laws on religion and more political freedom, it encountered the stiffest of opposition from the king. Inflexibly he demanded the acceptance of the decisions of the Council of Trent, which had just ended, refused to summon the Estates General, and enacted the strictest execution of the laws on heretics. Unrest grew even in areas where the old faith prevailed. The middle and lower nobility united themselves in an alliance of nobles, the

"Company of Nobles." It included Calvinists and Catholics with Erasmian sympathies who by means of a petition signed by the masses sought to obtain the abolition of the Inquisition and the summoning of the Estates General. About 600 of the nobility appeared with a petition at Margaret's castle in April 1566. While the petition was being handed to the regent, a councillor cried out that she should not allow herself to be frightened by these "beggars" (gueux). The confederates adopted this name as a mark of honor, and it soon became the description of all who were fighting in opposition. Although, as is natural, the petition only succeeded in gaining indefinite promises from the regent, the people thought that a general revolution covering all relationships was now close at hand. Many who had fled from the Inquisition now streamed back to the Netherlands from England and Germany. Calvinistic services were held openly in many cities, and in Antwerp Lutheran services as well. There several Reformed congregations combined to form the "Union of Consistories." The people, who in part had been incited by radical, Calvinistic "brushwood sermons," allowed themselves to be swept away to a serious outbreak of iconoclasm. This fight against the "idols," led by the classes who were oppressed by social insecurity, ended in a wild plundering of churches by domestic servants. The result was that the Catholics with national aspirations now separated themselves from their former Protestant allies. The Lutherans also moved away from "the robbers of churches." The "Alliance of Beggars," not being united on religious questions, fell apart. Strengthened by this Margaret again forbade Protestant preaching, and an extremely bloody persecution began. The allies fled in masses. The Prince of Orange laid down his office and fled to Nassau. The ruthless Duke of Alba with almost unlimited powers now appeared in the Netherlands at the head of an elite group of Spanish troops. He appointed a "Council of Disturbances," which the people soon called "Council of Blood." A regime of horror characterized by frightful ferocity now began. The criminal court went from city to city. Thousands of sentences of death in the fire, on the gallows, by drowning, and with the sword were

carried into effect, and thousands upon thousands were sent into banishment and had their goods confiscated. To spread terror among the higher nobility, which was still Catholic, Egmont and Horn were decapitated publicly. Anyone who was able to do so fled beyond the borders, and this included many from the property holding classes.

It was impossible to offer open opposition to a regime that could perpetrate such bloody terrors. But the land with its many waters and small undergrowth was extraordinarily well adapted for guerilla warfare. The insurrection began with the band of "brushwood beggars," bold partisans, and the "water beggars," wild freebooters. They did much damage to the Spanish cause. But there was need of a leader to gather all strands into his hands. William of Orange was the man who assumed the leadership. During his hard life in banishment he matured inwardly and was thus prepared for the commission that fell to his lot in the liberation of the Netherlands. At his side stood the enthusiastic and largehearted Calvinist Philip van Marnix of St. Aldegonde, a glowing patriot, statesman and soldier, theologian and churchman, publicist and poet. In addition to an excellent metrical translation of the Psalter he owes his popularity to the chief work of his pen, the satyrical-theological "Beehive of the Holy Roman Church." He is also no doubt the author of the song "William of Nassau," which accompanied the 16th-century battles for freedom as well as all later epochs in the history of the Netherlands. During the years of the wars of liberation Marnix became the best-loved figure among the Calvinists of the Netherlands. He assembled the fugitive preachers and elders in conventions (Wesel, 1568) and was able to convince them of the need for adopting a general church order. Through the development of this national ecclesiastical organization the Calvinists were able to provide the religious focus of the battle for freedom. These "churches under the cross" in occupied territory, at whose disposal stouthearted men ready to die placed their services again and again, proved themselves to be the national resistance group. A Walloon preacher, Guido de Bres, drew up the confession (Confessio Belgica), and Peter Dathenus a popular rhyming psalter and also liturgical formularies. In the refugee congregation at Emden, the first "general," that is, national synod was held in 1571. This accepted an ecclesiastical order with a presbyterial-synodical structure, according to which the congregations elected church councillors and preachers and could appoint delegates for the provincial and national synods.

William of Orange became in an ever increasing measure the soul of the war of liberation, which in turn became increasingly a war for the faith. Bitter experiences at the hands of the predominant Spaniards as well as with the narrow-mindedness and selfishness of many of his fellow countrymen did not unnerve him. Fortune turned with the capture of the city of Briel by the "Water Beggars." But the Prince of Orange had set his sights much further. For the first, he looked for the salvation of the Netherlands in the union of all the provinces in a free confederation in which Catholics, Lutherans, Reformed, Anabaptists, and humanists were to be united with equal religious rights. He could not adhere to this for long. His Calvinistic supporters insisted on the absolute authority of their church as the one orthodox church. It was only after his ideal proved itself to be actually unattainable that the prince agreed to the narrower form which the radical national-religious war party demanded. In 1573 he himself joined the Reformed Church. Relying chiefly on the support of sailors, peasants, and artisans filled with religious zeal, he carried the fight against Spain to its conclusion.

Alba had to live to see his system completely shattered. He withdrew. His successors, despite their tractability, were no longer able to accomplish anything. From the city of Alkmaar "the victory began." Leiden heroically withstood the Spanish siege and thereby acquired its university, a gift from Prince William of Orange, established on land that had belonged to the church and was otherwise assigned to the cities and the new church. Before long the University of Leyden became an important center of Calvinistic theology. The attempt of William of Orange to guarantee universal freedom of religion ran aground not only on the resistance offered by the Calvinists

in the provinces of Holland but also on the ardor of the representatives of the old faith in the South. And so the unity of the provinces fell apart. The new governor, Alexander of Parma, Margaret's son, succeeded in bringing the Walloon Netherlands and the southern cities back under the sovereignty of Philip. Thereby the South was lost to the Reformation. In the North the Union of Utrecht was concluded, in which the provinces Utrecht, Gelderland, Frisia, Overijssel, and Groningen concluded a district union with Holland and Zeeland. In the year 1581 this union renounced its obedience to the Spanish tyrant. The Prince of Orange assumed the leadership of the new republic as its governor. All hopes now rested on him. In 1584 he was shot by a hired assassin who had been advised by the Jesuits, a fanatic provided with the blessing of the church.

The political direction of the Republic of the United Netherlands was committed to the Grand Pensionary (Syndikus) Johan van Oldenbarnevelt. William's son Maurice, who was only 17 years old, proved himself a gifted military leader. Economic, military, and international reasons ultimately made the war hopeless for the Spaniards. After a long struggle fraught with varying success the United Netherlands obtained a 12-year truce in 1609, which, after the struggle had flared up once more in 1621, ultimately led to independence in the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.

Simultaneously with the advance of liberation, Reformed congregations were set up in the provinces as soon as the areas were taken from the Spaniards. Although a minority, the strict Calvinist party, recruited from the petty bourgeoisie, wanted to eliminate papal worship entirely and to have the claims of unadulterated Calvinism adopted among the people as a whole. This constituted the firm, closed core of the Reformed ecclesiastical system, which was led by energetic preachers and strengthened by the continuous immigration of zealous refugees from the South. In the ecclesiastical corporations, consistories, and synods it was the opportunity to make its influence felt in a given new way. Catholic church services were forbidden, and the Catholics were reduced to the position of being citizens outside the pale of law. Calvinism also proved itself to be exclusive over against the Lutherans and the Anabaptists. Though a limited toleration was granted to them, it was often conditioned by mercantile interests. But these "Dissenters" could occupy offices of state just as little as the Catholics and were only permitted to form "foxhole churches." Such repressive measures, however, hindered the small congregations in the propagation of their doctrine.

The change over to the Reformed Church by a large part of the aristocracy under the leadership of Oldenbarnevelt altered nothing. This group played a minor role in church life.

In essential features the aristocracy had kept to the line of Erasmus. They remained faithful to the humanistic traditions even now and were dogmatically very broad-minded and not seldom indifferent. This class of statesmen belonging to the aristocratic estate and the great merchants of the cities, the so-called "regents," wanted to bring ecclesiastical matters under their influence and to put a brake on the independent expansion of the Reformed corporations, especially the synods. Hence the viewpoint was defended that church discipline and the decision in doctrinal controversies were within the province of the secular government. It is clear that these tendencies to link church and state were decisively rejected by the broad masses with radical Calvinistic views. for the latter feared, not without reason, that the statesmen were advocating room and freedom for differing ecclesiastical and religious positions.

The dogmatical controversy on predestination with which the name of Arminius is connected supplied the formulas for the spiritual, social, and political discussions of the two layers of the population. Arminius, under the influence of the very tolerant Dirk Volckertszoon Coornhert, had returned from the dogmatically fixed doctrine to a milder form of doctrine and thus to dogmatical broad-mindedness. He placed God's predestination in relation to faith, which he regarded as the working of the Holy Ghost as well as the decision of free will. As professor in Leiden he became involved in a controversy with his colleague Franciscus Gomarus, who espoused the

strictest form of dogmatical Calvinism and championed a very harsh doctrine of predestination. The Calvinists called for a general synod, but the estates of Holland wanted to settle the matter before their tribunal. After the death of Arminius, John Wtenbogaert (Uytenbogaert), an influential adviser of Oldenbarnevelt, took over the leadership of the more liberal party. A remonstrance sent to the estates of Holland and Westfrisia derives from him and has given a name to this party. The Remonstrants acknowledged a farreaching authority of the government in matters of faith. Oldenbarnevelt was their man. Prince Maurice, although he hardly had any interest in the dogmatical controversy, now took the part of the Contraremonstrants; he could rely on the concurrence of the masses of the people, who looked to him for protection against the ruling aristocracy. In this way the prince became the defender of the strict form of dogmatical Calvinism. Oldenbarnevelt, the leader of the battles for freedom, was executed on alleged treason, and Hugo Grotius, the founder of international law, was condemned to life imprisonment, from which he gained release only through the cunning of his wife.

In the meantime, under the patronage of Prince Maurice the Synod of Dordrecht convened (1618/ 1619), where, under the leadership of the zealot Jan Bogerman, the Remonstrants were treated as defendants and repulsed as convicted liars. After some years, however, they were able to organize as a church communion. In other areas too the thoughts of the humanists were preserved. Although the Reformed Church was and continued to be the privileged, the "ruling" church, the government exercised a rigorous control in the consistories and synods by means of political commissioners, and in the years to come the Netherlands became a place of refuge for scholars like Comenius, Descartes, and Spinoza. This liberalism is related particularly to the fact that the province of Holland, the real bastion of freedom in the Netherlands, advanced to a position of being the leading commercial sea power of the world just in these years.



OCH DAT ONS HELCDOM TE MEER MACH GEDEN WANT LELE DEES CREMEKIE HOORT DEN DYVEL TOE





Above: Anabaptists being hanged in Amsterdam, 1535. Drawing by Barent Dircksz (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum)

Below: Menno Simons (d. 1561). Engraving by Christoffel van Sichem, about 1610 (Amsterdam, University Library)





Above: Philip II. Engraving by Hieronymus Wierx, 1586 (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum)

Below: Prince William of Orange. Painting by A. Th. Key, 1578 (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum)



Symbols of the "Alliance of Beggars": beggar's bowl, sack, and jug. Above is the Hebrew name of God *Jahwe*. From A. Valerius, *Gedenckelank*, 1622 (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum)



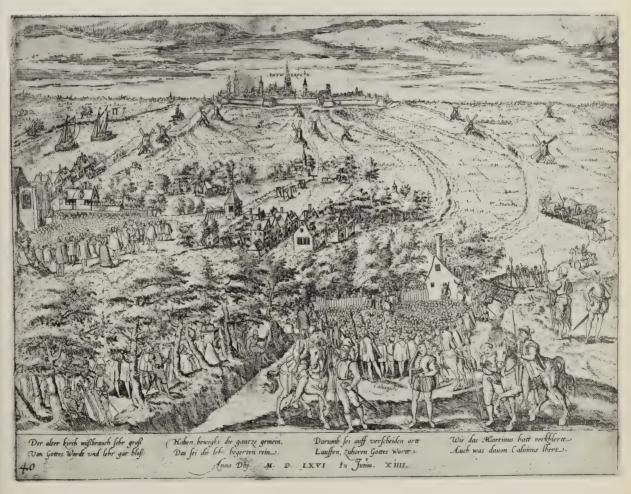
D'onvrome die veracht met spetten schimpen, smaden Die hoogste van gheboort en edelst syn in daden. So gaetet meest alsyt. Doch 't vroom volek achtet niet, Maer dragen in gedult haer lyden en verdriet.

En hoemen haer meer druckt en perst, en uyt wil rosgen Hoe fy door Godes bulp, meer groesen ende bloegen. God is baer vafte burcht in voor en tegen foet Dus is der Geusen naem den goeden aust goet.



Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, duke of Alba, Spanish general and statesman (1507–1582). Engraving by Franz Huys (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum)

"Brushwood sermons" near Antwerp. Engraving by Franz Hogenberg, 1566 (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum)



The Spanish "Council of Blood" (actually "Council of Disturbances") meets, under the presidency of the duke of Alba. Contemporary engraving (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum)



ALBA paraus bellum, crudeli percitus ira, Vt leges statuant BELGIS, accendit ERINNYS 44 Convocat Hesperia surias regionis alumnas, Illi animum, placuit cunctas sevire per urbes.



Den Byencozf der H.Roomsche Bercke.

Dit is een clare ende grondelicke Wtleggunghe des Sendbriefs Meester Gentiani Herver,

gingire des Settlebetzelfs Weeter denken keit.

mu corts wichegaen in Francops ende int Duytlich:

Spelchreven aen de afghedwaelde van
her Christen Gheloobe.



Coeghelehreben ende ghedediceret aen den Kerboerdigben Bilg khop Franciscum Sonntum/Dader aller nieutve Killidope pen inde Mederlanden/met eenen Briefends Bootrede kenzrue Kerbierblichert.

Above: Philip van Marnix of St. Aldegonde. Engraving by J. de Ghey, 1599 (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum)

Below: Title page of the pamphlet by Marnix "The Beehive of the Holy Roman Church," 1572 (Amsterdam, University Library)



WREEDE MOORT TOT ZUTPHEN

Zutphen besich met verdragen Merckten niet de boose lagen Van den Spangiaert vol bedroch Twelck veel lieden heuget noch Als den Yel was bevrooren Wie vermach dit aen te hooren Sonder weenen, wie sal niet Schrickken van dit swaer verdriet Uytgetrocken naeckte lieden Konden niet den Doot ontvlieden Maer sy ivegens onder ys Man en Vroutonck out en grys Voor het vriendelyck ontfangen Wert het ouerschot gehangen Staecken Boomen galgen velt Toonden daer het Spaens gewelt

Don Frederic, Soon van van den Hartog Alba, d'afgevallene Steden in Over-Mel, het Graafschap Zusphen endaar omtrent, weder ver vert en in syn magt gekregen hebbende, regt in de Staar Zusphen, een overgroote Moordery en alderhande onmenschelijke wreetbeden aan oeffenende aldaar een straffe, die alle rêden en maat te bovenging.

10.

William of Orange with lion, sword and hat as symbols of freedom, 1572. Contemporary engraving from A. Valerius, *Gedenckelank*, 1626 (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum)

De Nederlate fchen Leeuw mette vrydő en Previlegie des Lants

2 De Prins van Oranjen, ontboden tot bescherming' der selver.

Het fwaerd
ofte justice,
by deHeeren
Staten, den
Prins, als Gou
verneur, inde
hand gegeve.
De gebroken

Parffe of Spae fche tyrannie.
Des Princes macht väRuy ters en knech ten, by hem uyt Duytsch-

lant mede gebracht.



Ras, blift nice lange flaen, marcheere ghy Colonnellen, Rit-meesters, Capiteyns, gby seek Soldaets gesellen, O Keyserlicke Prins! neemt, sies daer is het swaerd! Veer, weed, woron'd voor't Land doch wel be daerd.

De traen-Pars is aen tween, 'sLands vryheys wert verbeven, Wy fullen (hoop ick) baeft de Spanjaert sien verdreven, Die 'suyterste verdriet van ons verderven socht, Treck op, de Heer, gelooft, is by u indentocht.



The capture of the city of Briel. Engraving by Franz Hogenberg, 1572 (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum)

Above, right: Interior of the Leyden University Library. Engraving by Woudanus, 1610 (Leyden, University Library)

Below, right: The University of Leyden, with skaters in the foreground. From the *Album amicorum* ("Album of Friends") by Joost van Mijnden van Amstel, about 1600 (Leyden, University Library)



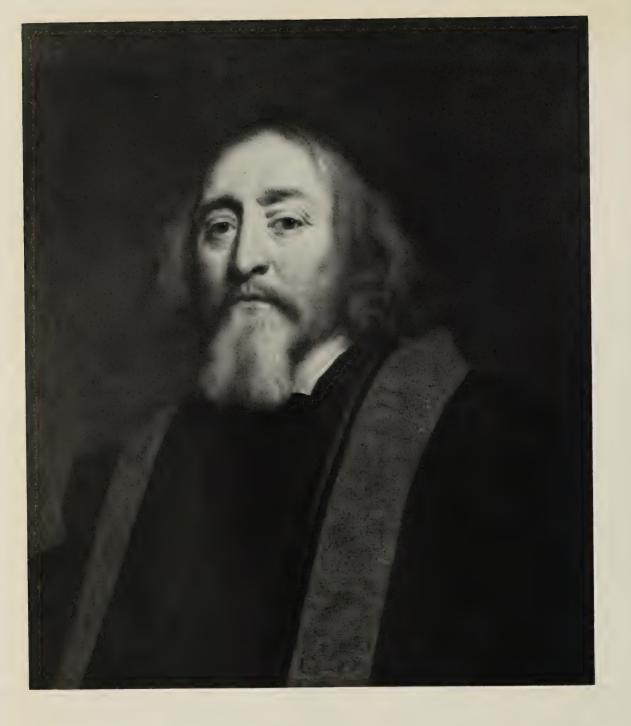




Jan Bogerman. Engraving by Feddus van Harlingen, 1618 (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum)

Lutheran church in Amsterdam, built 1605–1633. Engraving by an unknown master of 1694 (Amsterdam, Kooiman Collection)





Jan Amos Comenius. Painting by Jurriaen Ovens between 1657 and 1663 (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum)

FO ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, IRELAND

In telling the story of the actual Reformation of the 16th and 17th centuries, it is important to call attention to the fact that for a thousand years before the Reformation Britain had had its own independent church and that Rome had in successive waves of attempts tried to bring this church under its control.

At the time of King John (1199–1216) the English territories were at last subjected to the pope, and the English king became his vassal. But from this time popular opinion began to turn against the papacy. The break with Rome already lay in the realm of possibility during the reign of Edward I (1272–1307) or of Edward III (1327–1377). During the reign of Edward III a stronger national feeling developed. In addition, as a result of the Black Death in the years 1349, 1362, and 1363, a serious demoralization developed, which had its effects also on the relation of men to church and state. In the upper classes a powerful antipapal movement evolved, and parallel with this an anticlericalism among the lower classes developed.

But a still more powerful revolutionary movement arose within the church in the person of John Wycliffe (1324–1384). In his writings *De dominio divino* and *De civili dominio* ("On Dominion in the Church" and "On Civil Dominion") he taught that for every position of leadership God's grace is necessary. Because the priests have become secularized and are therefore in a state of sin, their office has become null and void, he contended. Wycliffe's theology, influenced by Ockham, induced him to

strive for a reformation of the church. After 1380 he even attacked the doctrine of transubstantiation and later translated the Bible into the language of the people. He sent out his "poor priests" to reform the church by preaching the content of the Bible to the people. Towards the end of his life he violently opposed papal supremacy. With the rise of the house of Lancaster, which with the support of the prelates succeeded in having the frightful law De baeretico comburendo ("On the burning of heretics") passed and in cleansing the universities of Wycliffite teachings, the movement was halted. The civil war between the houses of York and Lancaster interrupted this development. When the new dynasty of the Tudors ruled the exhausted nation, the old strife between England and Rome assumed large proportions. In spite of this the Wycliffite movement did not disappear. It became merged with the Reformation movement of the 16th century. Wycliffe was in fact the morning star of the Reformation in England, and his followers were the ones who later supported the Lutheran movement. But he lacked Luther's emphasis on justification by faith and the support of the people. For this the time a century and a half before Luther was not yet ripe.

The 15th century witnessed the gradual decline of Scholasticism in all of Europe, the failure of the efforts of the conciliar movement at Constance (1414–1418) as well as at Basel (1431–1449) to check the secularization of the papacy, the spreading of the Renaissance, and in England in partic-



Martin Luther's answer to a pamphlet by Henry VIII of England (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)

ular the rise of a strong royal house that was to bring about the break with Rome.

Although Henry VIII (1509–1547) had no interest in a theological reformation, as the theologically educated king's Assertio septem sacramentorum, his refutation of Luther's work De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae of the year 1521 shows, it nevertheless began during his reign. His divorce from Catharine of Aragon provided the occasion, but the causes were manifold. The anticlerical as well as the antipapal movement played their part, and so did the deviations in doctrine from Rome begun by Wycliffe and deepened by Luther, which were spread among the people by the English reformers who had gone over to Luther's views, especially

Tyndale and Coverdale, Frith and Barnes, Latimer, Cranmer, and Ridley.

Up to the year 1534 Henry VIII had forcibly subordinated the clergy to himself, had deprived the pope of the right to appoint bishops, had forbidden all payments and appeals to Rome, and had regulated his own succession, and all this at the cost of executions which shocked Europe. Thomas Cromwell dissolved the monasteries and transferred their riches chiefly into the hands of the nobility and the crown.

Although the last years of Henry's reign brought mainly social unrest, there were also some important religious changes-Tyndale's Bible translation of 1526 as well as Cranmer's Bible of 1538, Cranmer's Litany of 1545, and the Ten Articles of 1536. These represented an attempt to simplify Christian doctrine, to reduce it to a few essential points. The Bible, the three confessions of faith belonging to the ancient Christian church (that is, the Apostolic, the Nicene, and the Athanasian creeds), and the four ecumenical councils were here declared to be the theological foundations. The three sacraments of Baptism, Penance, and the Lord's Supper were retained, and the real presence of Christ in the elements was defended, but transubstantiation was rejected. Justification by faith was taught but more in the sense of Melanchthon's view than Luther's. The veneration of pictures and saints, together with many allied rites and ceremonies, was condemned as well as Masses for the release of souls from purgatory. This whole reformation of doctrine was strongly influenced by the German Augsburg Confession of 1530.

The man who stood behind this theological reformation was Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556), Archbishop of Canterbury (1532–1556). He was a man of great learning, mild and tolerant, who wanted to reform the Church of England in a Lutheran sense. Beyond that, he also attempted to unite the Reformed churches of Europe along with Pietro Martire Vermigli, Martin Bucer, and John Calvin. The abolition of papal supremacy and the national Catholic cultus was chiefly his work. He gave England the Book of Common Prayer, the Book of Homilies (a book of theological instructions for the clergy) and the Articles mentioned. In 1556 he was burned at

Bon der Babylonischen gefencks nußder Rirchen Doctor Wartini Luthers.



Martin Luther's pamphlet addressed to Henry VIII of England: Von der Babylonischen gefencknus der Kirchen ("The Babylonian Captivity of the Church"), 1520 (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)

the stake and died a brave death. He is entitled to be described as England's leading reformer. Further innovations from the last years of Henry VIII's reign are represented in Cromwell's Injunctions from the years 1536 and 1538, which emphatically enjoin the dissemination of this new theology and the abolition of abuses, the Institution of a Christian Man (Institution-training) of 1537, an instruction on the Reformed theology drawn up by the bishops and popularly called the Bishops' Book, and finally the surprisingly unreformed Six Articles of 1539, the reactionary concern of which was even strengthened by a revision of the Bishops' Book, the so-called King's Book of 1543.

The reign of the young King Edward VI (1547-1553) brought a strong increase of Protestant influence and a further removal of medieval ecclesiastical abuses. The Council of State immediately authorized Cranmer's Book of Homilies, introduced the Paraphrases of Erasmus (that is, a translation of the Holy Scriptures with explanations) into the church, and brought in prohibitions against medieval abuses with the goal of promoting reformed practices. The synod of the clergy made Communion under both forms the rule and legalized the marriage of priests. Parliament revoked the reactionary legislation from the latter period of Henry VIII and set up a new Communion liturgy that stemmed from Cranmer. It introduced liturgical innovations in St. Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey. The Book of Common Prayer of 1549 combined all these new developments. This book still sets forth the official liturgical order of the Church of England today. With later amplifications it contains the orders for daily Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer, the formularies for the doctrinal basis of the church, a Catechism, the Baptism and Communion, the Psalter, and rites for Ordination. Here Thomas Cranmer and others attempted to simplify and abbreviate the Latin service of the Middle Ages and to provide a convenient single English volume as a guide for clergy and laity. First drawn up in 1549 and subjected to slight revisions in 1552 and 1662, it maintained its authority in the whole Church of England. It is written in exalted prose, which has given splendid support to outstanding Reformed theology. The Bible and the Book of Common Prayer have maintained the unity of the Church of England for over 400 years.

Because of the Interim of 1548 many theologians in this period fled from the Continent to England, among them Bucer, Vermigli, Fagius, Laski and Poulain. They were chiefly Reformed scholars who exercised a Calvinistic influence in England. This shows itself in the *Forty-two Articles*, which the Council of State published in 1553.

But the young king was sickly and lay on his death-bed. Under these circumstances the royal chancellor John Dudley planned to marry his son Robert to Lady Jane Grey, a granddaughter of Henry VIII's younger sister in order to maintain his control over the throne. The land was tired of the regency with all its intrigues. Economic distress was general; the churches and monasteries were plundered, the universities declined. There was expectation that the reestablishment of peace in the church and nation might be achieved through Mary. Men believed that as a representative of the house of Tudor she might well reestablish the old Tudor unity and strength.

Mary (1553-1558), Edward's stepsister, the issue of Henry VIII's first marriage, was determined to annul the Reformation and to reestablish Roman Catholicism as well as the dominion of the pope in Britain. At first she nullified all the Reformation laws of Edward. After her marriage to Philip of Spain in the year 1554 she again enacted all the medieval regulations against heresy and revoked all laws directed against Rome. Cardinal Pole was recalled to Canterbury, but Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, Ferrar, Taylor, Rogers, and about three hundred other reformers came to their end on the funeral pyre. The queen was remembered among her people as "bloody Mary," and when she died in 1558, cursed by her people, all England looked expectantly to her half sister Elizabeth.

Elizabeth had no firm religious ties of her own. She mistrusted Catholicism because she was not acknowledged by Catholics and Calvinism because it had abrogated the episcopacy. At best, she preferred the Lutherans because of their respect for secular authority and because they were prepared to retain the episcopal structure. Politically she made efforts to have Parliament rule the state under



The burning of Nicholas Ridley and Hugh Latimer, 1555, in Oxford; above, right: Cranmer as prisoner. Engraving by John Foxe, 1563 (London, British Museum)

her sovereignty and to have synod likewise rule the church under her sovereignty. Thanks to her genius as a ruler and her long reign England was able to develop into the leading Protestant power of Europe.

In order to be able to form an estimate of the work of Elizabeth (1558-1603), we must first of all understand what dangers confronted her. The first was civil war. After Luther's death the Schmalcaldic War broke out in Germany. In France Catholics and Huguenots were involved in open war. How easily England could have met a corresponding fate! The second danger was presented by the Counter-Reformation. The Index and the Inquisition were effective weapons against innovations, and the Jesuits made efforts to reestablish the old church. Third, neither Spain nor France was prepared to endure a Protestant solution in England, as the sortie of the Armada in 1588 was to demonstrate. And finally in the fourth place, Elizabeth's claim to the throne was not undisputed, for as Anne Boleyn's daughter she could be regarded as illegitimate. This offered chances to her rival Mary, Queen of Scotland.

It redounded to Elizabeth's advantage that John

Knox now carried out the Scottish Reformation in the Calvinistic sense. In her political and ecclesiastical development Scotland was 400 years behind Europe. Lutheran tracts also shook up the sleeping and corrupt church here. Patrick Hamilton, a student of Luther, met a gruesome death on the funeral pyre already in 1528 and many others followed him. A constant stream of martyrs bore witness for the Reformation. When James II died in 1542, he left behind as his successor his underage daughter Mary, Queen of the Scots. Mary was sent to France for her education, and many politicians realized that the alliance between France and Scotland would have to be broken should the Reformation be victorious in England. Meanwhile, the people were strongly influenced by the Reformed preacher George Wishart and his disciple John Knox (1505-1572). In an assault on St. Andrews (1547) the French fleet among others took Knox captive, and for almost two years he was a galley slave. Later he met Calvin in Geneva and returned to Scotland, for a short time in 1555 and permanently in 1559. Knox began the actual Reformation with his fearless attacks on the papacy, the veneration of images, and the Mass. When Mary in 1561 returned to Scotland she became involved in a violent conflict with Knox concerning the retention of the Mass in her chapel and the frivolous worldliness of the court. After a series of intrigues the Protestant lords rose against the queen, conquered her army, and imprisoned her in Lochleven Castle. This struggle was carefully observed everywhere in Europe. In England the adherents of Rome set their hopes on Mary, whereas the Protestants in Scotland hoped that Protestant England would support them. The English fleet and an English army hastened to their help and forced the French to retreat. Mary abdicated in 1567. Her underaged son James VI became king, and the Reformed Church was officially recognized in Scotland. Within a year Mary escaped from Lochleven, raised an army, was defeated, made her way to England and was there taken into custody. She was carefully guarded but finally Elizabeth felt herself compelled, as a result of Catholic intrigues and a threatening Spanish invasion, to have her executed in 1587.

In this year Knox had firmly established the Church of Scotland on Reformed foundations, and just as Mary Stuart's political power was broken so his work was out of harm's way. The Confession of Faith was drawn up, and in quick succession there appeared the Book of Discipline and Knox's Liturg y as well as Calvin's Catechism. It is important to remember that it was the success of the Reformation in Scotland that guaranteed the English Reformation.

Mary is a tragic figure. Beautiful and attractive as a woman, the sworn enemy of the Reformation was cruel and without scruples, prepared to make use of lies and intrigues to gain her ends. Mary was bound to lose: she embodied the type of the old monarchical autocracy and at the same time had linked herself with authoritarian Catholicism. Knox had to win: he represented the civil and religious rights of the people.

In England at that time the most diverse religious tendencies were represented. The gamut reached from Roman Catholicism to Calvinism. Since the English Catholic bishops and priests stood in dangerous opposition to Elizabeth, she induced Parliament in 1559 to sanction the Act of Supremacy, which guaranteed her supremacy in all spiritual and ecclesiastical questions, and the Act of Uniformity, which guaranteed unity in all ecclesiastical affairs. By these laws the church was pledged on the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI, and the queen herself claimed the title Supreme Governor of the Church. A disputation between Roman Catholics and Protestants which was to have taken place at Westminster proved fruitless because the Catholics declined a debate. In 1563 the Forty-two Articles were reduced to the Thirtynine still valid today.

To give the new laws effect, a royal ecclesiastical visitation was conducted. The officials who removed pictures and relics root and branch destroyed shrines, pictures, and paintings. Altars were replaced by tables. Preaching and Bible reading were encouraged. Bishops who offered opposition were deposed. Their place was taken by Protestant bishops like Parker (who became archbishop in 1559), Grindal, and Jewel. Despite all these undertakings the church found herself in difficulties

as a result of the very acute shortage of priests, the low level of the universities, and the decline of congregational life. Elizabeth made unflinching efforts not only to maintain the internal peace of the land but also to renew the intellectual life of the people and so of the church and to check the threat from Catholicism on the one hand and from Puritanism on the other hand. That she did this less out of a sense of spiritual responsibility than from political astuteness can still be detected from the result of her efforts today. She sought a compromise solution that would be satisfactory for the whole English people, a solution which was to be Catholic as well as Protestant. The Catholics were to receive satisfaction through the retention of the authority of the Bible and the church fathers as well as by taking over the entire tradition and theology of the ancient church. The Protestant features should include the rejection of the pope, of the doctrine of transubstantiation, of Masses for the dead, of indulgences, of compulsory confession, of celibacy and purgatory and, further, the retention of the chalice, of free access to the Bible for the people, of worship in the vernacular, and of a more simple formulation of the faith.

At her side in the position of archbishop Elizabeth first had Matthew Parker (1559-1575), a learned and capable man who adopted a moderate attitude over against the Catholics and was conciliatory towards the Puritans, as the extreme Calvinists were called. His successor was Edmund Grindal (1576-1583), a man with strong Puritan inclinations, under whom Puritanism gained the upper hand. Elizabeth's last archbishop was John Whitgift (1530-1604), a Calvinist in doctrine but not in church organization. Hence he was a true Anglican inasmuch as he rejected Roman doctrine but allowed the episcopal organization to remain in force as order. He adopted a firm attitude against Puritanism. He was called the "Canterbury Caiaphas." Under his control Anglicanism became independent both over against Catholicism and over against Puritanism.

For a number of years no action was really taken against the Catholics in England. But when the fanatical pope Pius V, who regarded England as a bridgehead for Protestantism, excommunicated Elizabeth in 1570 and released her subjects from all duties to her and in case of any attachment to her prohibited them from church attendance, a new situation emerged. Apart from this, Rome had received support when William Allen began training priests at Douai in northern France and smuggled them into England. Moreover, the Catholics were ill-advised in employing political intrigues. In 1569 the Percies and the Nevilles, the two ruling families of northern England, rebelled. In 1579 plots were forged in Spain, and Spanish and Italian troops were employed to incite Ireland to rebellion in an effort to overthrow the English Reformation. Even Mary, the Queen of Scotland, became involved in corresponding plans in the years 1579-1581.

The English government therefore had no choice but to adopt severe measures. In 1571 it was declared to be treason to attempt to rob the queen of her rights or to introduce papal bulls into the country. From 1581 it was already regarded as treason to belong to the Roman Catholic Church. At the same time there were quite a number of Catholics who did not approve of the methods the Jesuits in particular employed to reintroduce Catholicism into England. In 1585 the ban was pronounced against all Jesuits and seminary priests, and all English seminarians abroad were ordered to return home.

Elizabeth likewise detected danger in Puritanism. She wanted to fuse church and nation into a unity. The Puritans were not able to adopt this goal without more ado. Puritanism was strictly Calvinistic and characterized by strict morality, a severe doctrine of election, and deep reverence for God's Word. A Puritan was unable to make any compromise. Some like Grindal, Sandys, and Jewel found a way of bowing to the will of the queen, others, especially Humphrey and Sampson, were extremists and declined to do so. At the same time the Puritans did not want to separate from the church. The only thing they wanted was that no foreign and no government influences should be tolerated in the church.

In the first phase of the discussion (1559–1570) it was the objective of the Puritans to remove from public worship all ceremonies not based on Holy

Scripture like the ring, for example, and the Eucharistic vestments. Parker's work was aimed at the adoption of a moderate sobriety and although many Puritans were party-minded and separatistic, the majority attempted to reform the church from within and not to separate from her.

The next phase (1570–1580) concerned itself with church government. At this stage the Puritans under Cartwright (1535–1603) wanted to abolish the episcopal office and to achieve equality for the clergy. In answer to this, Parliament published the Thirty-nine Articles, and the bishops insisted that all priests should acknowledge the articles, make use of the Book of Common Prayer, and wear a white stole. The result was polemical writings from Cartwright and Travers, from which we may learn not only a great deal about Puritan criticism of the church they wanted to cleanse but also what their own program was.

They criticized the church for retaining "Popery," as they called it. As proofs of this they cited wearing the stole, the "Prayer Book," the ritual, the ring, the sign of the cross, kneeling at Communion, confirmation, private confession, the threefold ministry, as well as the retention of festivals for the saints, antiphonal singing, and the organ. They regarded all these as externals that divert attention from true worship. They deplored it that God's Word was not preached adequately, and they also objected to pluralism and the latitudinarianism of the clergy, the scandalous lives of some priests, the misuse of clerical jurisdiction, the threat of excommunication as ecclesiastical punishment, the substitution of a money penalty for penitence, and episcopal dispensations. In many cases congregational priests fell victims to ecclesiastical lawyers, but they cannot be completely exonerated from blame because they offered no resistance.

According to their own program they sought to recast the church in the direction of presbyterianism. First of all, they wanted to introduce the equality of the clergy by the abolition of the episcopate. The congregation itself should elect and call its priest. The latter should be admitted by a consistory and work in association with the elders of the church. The deacons were to concern themselves with the poor, and the priests and elders

should take care of discipline. The church should be administered by a synod. The episcopate was not of divine right. This was the case only with the office of presbyter.

The third phase (1580–1593) was characterized by a strong tendency towards separatism. It led to Independentism under Robert Browne. This extreme left wing of the Presbyterians rejected even the office of presbyter and self-evidently the royal supremacy over the church. The idea of a national church was rejected in favor of a church of saints. These extremists separated from the Presbyterians. They left England and in 1620 sailed on the "Mayflower" for America.

In the meantime the official leaders of the church in England felt constrained to defend their position, especially the later Archbishop Bancroft (1544-1610) and Richard Hooker, who refuted the charges against Anglicanism in detail and justified his positions in his large work Ecclesiastical Polity. He argued that usages should not simply be rejected because they were also customary among papists and that the Bible should not be required to supply solutions on matters about which it makes no statements. He opposed the literal interpretation of the Bible on the part of the Puritans and adopted the view that man, as a rational creature, is in a position to set up usages even though these are not expressly set forth in the Bible. For him the church was a living, not a dead, institution and he demonstrated that the government and organization of the church had changed according to historical necessity. Hence he refused to condemn Continental Protestants because their church was not episcopally organized. As for the rest, he himself was occasionally criticized for an alleged Zwinglian interpretation of the Lord's Supper.

Bancroft was a typical representative of the state church of the Elizabethan period with his appeal to Holy Scripture, the retention of episcopacy, his connection with the ancient church and Catholic tradition, and his high regard for human reason.

This conglomeration of differing viewpoints harbored inner tension. As time went on, individual viewpoints came to assert themselves in various ways. Under James I (1603–1625) the Calvinistic

tendency in Anglican theology was modified under High-Church and latitudinarian influence. The school of William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury in the period from 1633-1645 but finally condemned by the Puritans and executed, stressed a High-Church line over against Puritanism, a European and not only an English phenomenon. He had succeeded in having the "Prayer Book" recognized and had strengthened hierarchical authority. But the close connection of his theology with the absolute monarchy harmed the Anglican Church in the first instance. The civil war (1642-1649) between the Puritans under Oliver Cromwell and the Royalists under Charles I and the Commonwealth (1649-1660) represented the triumph of the extreme wing of the Reformation over the Anglican solution. Therefore the abiding result of the Reformation first became clear when at the restoration in 1660 the Church of England again found its way back to the Elizabethan Settlement.

The course of the Reformation in Ireland is a story full of misunderstanding and bitterness. The new thinking was forced on the land from the outside, and in the process violence and trickery played decisive roles.

In 1537 Henry VIII had forced the Irish also to renounce the papacy. Yet there was no reformatory movement in the land then. This hangs together with the complete lack of any education. There was no published Irish literature. There was also not a single Irish reformer. Under Edward VI the reformed liturgy was introduced. The English Book of Common Prayer, which appeared in Dublin in 1551, was the first book printed in Ireland. On the ascension to the throne of the English Queen Mary Roman Catholicism was reestablished in Ireland. The Protestant bishops were deposed and married priests punished.

When Elizabeth came to the throne the English liturgy was once again made binding. The Irish Parliament in 1560 rejected the pope's claims to primacy and approved of the Act of Uniformity.

Under James I (1603–1625) many Presbyterian Scots were settled in northern Ireland to the advantage of the land. The synod of the Irish church in 1615 accepted the so-called "Irish Articles." But under Laud's influence they were withdrawn in 1634 in favor of the Thirty-nine Articles, which were much less Calvinistic. Since the Puritans and Calvinists refused to give their assent, a terrible blood bath ensued in 1641, and Oliver Cromwell inflicted severe punishments on the rebels.

Since the Reformation was forced upon Ireland by Englishmen, henceforth Protestantism and foreign dominion were always regarded as the same thing, a misfortune, out of which Rome readily made capital. Not until 1871 was the Irish church separated from the state. Even today Northern Ireland, which formerly took up the Scottish Presbyterians, is strongly Protestant and devoted to the crown, whereas Catholic southern Ireland (now called Eire) is republican, often with a strong anti-British bias.

Although the Reformation in England left many ecclesiastical problems unsolved, some results are nevertheless unequivocally fixed. To these belong the rejection of papal authority as well as the fundamental validity of Scripture, tradition, and reason. Since the new church preserved a mediating position between the extremes which on the one side embodied Catholicism and on the other side Calvinism, a certain amount of intellectual freedom was assured that could promote learned work. Moreover, it held the view that it had reestablished continuity with the ancient church and from this aspect regarded itself as Catholic and yet reformed.

JAMES ATKINSON

Wycliffe Bible. In 1383 Wycliffe translated the New Testament. It was revised and completed by John Purvey in 1388 (London, British Museum)





John Wycliffe. Copper engraving by Conrad Klüpffel (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)



Tyndale's New Testament translated during the exile in Germany in 1524. Destroyed except for three copies.





Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556). Painting by Gerlach Flicke, 1546 (London, National Portrait Gallery)





Above: Edward VI (1547–1553) (London, National Portrait Gallery)

Below: Mary I (1553-1558) (London, National Portrait Gallery)





Left: Hugh Latimer (1485-1555), bishop of Worcester (London, National Portrait Gallery)

Right: Nicholas Ridley (1500–1555), bishop of London (London, National Portrait Gallery)



Queen Elizabeth (1558–1603). Painting by Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger (London, National Portrait Gallery)



Mary Stuart (1559–1568) (London, National Portrait Gallery)





Above: Archbishop Whitgift (1530–1604) (London, National Portrait Gallery)

Below: Archbishop Richard Bancroft (1544–1610) (London, National Portrait Gallery)





Archbishop William Laud (1573–1645). Painting by A. van Dyck, about 1636. (London, Lambeth Palace)

SPAIN

For centuries the Christians on the Iberian peninsula caused Rome concern. The West Goths, who had conquered the area in the 5th and 6th centuries, had been Arians. After the Arabs had established their rule in 711, the greater part of the native population, who until then had been loyal adherents of the Catholic faith, had converted to Islam. Beyond that, the later Spanish soil had again and again brought forth heresy. In the fourth century, the religious groups united in the ascetic movement of Priscillianism had for the first time moved the secularized church to decree capital punishment in the interest of the faith. To the extent that the Mohammedan Moors had been pushed back by Christian centers of resistance, the area had been brought more firmly under the influence of the pope. This began at the time of Gregory VII and was brought to completion in the 15th century, when Granada, the last Moorish bulwark, fell into the hands of the Christians (1492). Yet even during this time spiritual movements active within the church maintained a position more or less independent over against Rome. Among these were the Alumbrados, who, influenced by mysticism, sought a personal intimacy with God and manifested a certain degree of independence toward the mandates of the official church. Humanism, too, had gained ground. In a discussion of the Reformation in Spain, it is hardly possible to establish a line of demarcation between these spiritual trends and a pure Protestant Christianity.

On the other hand, the self-assurance of the Roman Catholic Church, on the basis of its centuries-old ability to maintain itself against the enemy from without, had increased considerably. In its struggle against dangers from within its own ranks, the defensive institution known as the Inquisition had been developed and introduced in Castile in 1480 and in Aragon in 1481. This institution was soon to play a decisive role in the struggle against Protestantism. In addition, the Jesuit order went into action in the land of its origin soon after its organization. In comparison with these supportive agencies of the Catholic Church, the presence of the retired Catholic Charles V in San Jerónimo de Yuste and the rule of the fanatical defender of the Catholic faith, Philip II, in Spain did not carry too much weight. For the Inquisition proceeded so independently in Valladolid that it did not even permit itself to become irritated by the neryous zeal of Charles, who sought to compel it to proceed against the Protestants with unreasonable rapidity.

Concerning the spread and the suppression of the Reformation movement in Spain we are informed by the records of the Inquisition. In addition to these, there are old reports drawn up on every auto-da-fé ("act of faith"), the burning at the stake of the heretics condemned by the Inquisition, as well as the *Artes Inquisitionis*, a book that was authored by the group of monks who had fled the Hieronymite monastery San Isidro del Campo near Seville and that made its appearance

in Heidelberg (1567) under the pseudonym of Reinaldus Gonsalvius Montanus. Admittedly much would have to be deleted from it as lacking objectivity. Spanish Protestant literature likewise furnishes some items of information regarding the Reformation movement. A great deal, however, will remain shrouded in darkness for us. The Protestant groups were wiped out too rapidly and too completely to leave detailed records for us.

Yet the little we know about the history of the Reformation in Spain, a collection of reports about the tragic fate of many individuals, constitutes a fascinating chapter in the spread of the Protestant faith. Since this movement never got beyond the first stage in the founding of a church, each individual stood alone in a most terrifying manner. In the final analysis the Gospel is the comfort for the conscience of the individual. As if to illustrate this truth, every man and woman who had been accessible to the Gospel was in this case compelled to bear the burden of decisions and sufferings in complete loneliness. But the methods of the Inquisition with its system of informers, its promotion of denouncements, and its physical and mental tortures often placed superhuman burdens on individuals. Many were shattered by them, but in some of them trials and sufferings served to purify their Christian faith.

Protestant influences seem to have come to Spain at a very early date. As early as 1519, the publisher Johannes Froben reported from Basel that he had shipped a number of Luther's writings to Spain (Letter to Luther, Feb. 14, 1519, WA Br 1, 146). As the first among Luther's writings, his Commentary on Galatians was translated into Spanish in 1521. A translation of his Freedom of a Christian Man, as well as much other Reformation literature, appeared in Antwerp. Frankfort on the Main was the storage place for the forbidden trade in Protestant books destined for the Netherlands and Spain. After some time, shipments by sea had to be abandoned because of the Inquisition's stricter surveillance of this route, making it necessary to forward the books by land via Lyons and the Pyrenean passes to Aragon and particularly to Seville. The Dutch book merchant Peter Vilman



Philip II of Spain (1555-1598). Contemporary woodcut (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)

of Antwerp, who maintained branches in Medina del Campo and in Seville, was the chief promoter of this trade, the cost of which was later borne exclusively by the Protestants of Seville.

Individual Spaniards in other lands were captivated by the Protestant message, among them Francisco de Enzinas, born around 1520, whose humanistic name was Dryander. In his youth he had been sent to relatives living in the Netherlands. His parents called him back in 1537, fearing that he might fall victim to the "unbelief." Later they sent word to him that they would rather send him poison than money for his studies. He returned to the Netherlands in 1539, where he was visited in 1541 by a fellow townsman named Francisco de San Romano, who was a little older than he and had been converted by a minister from Bremen. He had shown too much fanatism and had fallen into the hands of the Inquisition. He already had spent a few months in jail, yet despite the pleas of Enzinas he refused to proceed more moderately. As a result he was apprehended anew and burned at the stake, presumably in 1542 in Valladolid. Enzinas himself went to Wittenberg the same year (1541) and matriculated there in October. Melanchthon received him into his home. There he translated the New Testament into Spanish from the Greek and in the middle of winter journeyed to the Netherlands to have it published. On Nov. 25, 1543, he personally presented a copy to the emperor and was arrested on Dec. 13 at the instigation of the confessor of the emperor. It was not until a year later that he was handed his writ of indictment, but he escaped Feb. 1, 1545, when he found the prison doors open. In March he was back with Melanchthon and upon his request put down his memoirs in writing. After several intermediate stations, Francisco de Enzinas matriculated in Basel and there produced his book against the Council of Trent. He then frequently changed his country and place of residence. A series of translations of ancient books are the product of his pen, but nothing is known concerning the polyglot Bible on which he had labored many years. He fell victim to the plague in 1552.

The fate of another Spaniard who had been converted abroad likewise attracted attention. Juan

Diaz of Cuenca had studied theology in Paris for 13 years and had become a Protestant there. In 1545 he had spent a few months in Geneva and toward the end of the year accompanied Martin Bucer on his trip to the theological discussion in Regensburg. Afterwards he had gone to Neuburg on the Danube, where he had his brief Protestant Summa published. In the meantime his brother Alfonso, who was employed at the papal lawcourt in Rome, had heard of the "defection" of Juan. He at once started out, accompanied by an executioner, and on March 27, 1546, had his brother murdered by him with a hatchet. Pope and emperor quashed the indictment against Alfonso since he had apparently merely anticipated the arm of the civil court. He lived unmolested in Spain but is reported to have committed suicide eventually. Melanchthon in a tract compared him to Cain. Francisco de Enzinas saw to it that a report on this murder was published.

In Spain itself the first Protestant groups had come into being in Seville, but they did not succeed in forming a congregation before they were wiped out. The movement had at this place been initiated by three men: Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, preacher at the cathedral since 1533; the preacher Juan de Egidio; and the layman Rodrigo de Valera, who through diligent study of the Latin Bible had defected from Roman doctrine and in street sermons called people to repentance. The Inquisition at first regarded him as a fool. Later on, his property was confiscated and he himself sentenced to life imprisonment. Between 1544 and 1548, Constantino Ponce de la Fuente had among other things published in Seville the Confession of a Penitent Sinner, six sermons on the First Psalm, a Christian catechism, and the first part of his Dogmatics, books that were regarded as models of Spanish style. In 1548 he had been named court chaplain by the emperor, had accompanied Prince Philip to England in 1554, and had returned in 1555. Juan de Egidio had been sentenced by the Inquisition in 1552 not to preach nor to lecture for 10 years. Thereupon he recanted. Shortly after a visit with friends in Valladolid in 1556, he died in Seville, filled with repentance over his weakness.

We know very little about the life of these Protestant Christians. Oral tradition doubtless played a substantial role. Without doubt intimate group meetings were held. We have little information on the content of their message. Other than Protestant ideas may also have played a part. Where Protestant faith really existed, it is impossible to establish whether Lutheran or Calvinistic views predominated. Holy Communion was celebrated under both kinds in private homes. Of Juan Ponce de Leon, a Spanish nobleman, we learn that he sent his servants out on special errands in order not to be caught by surprise. The resolution of the Protestants to arrange a meeting place, to purchase a home for that purpose, and to engage a permanent pastor was never carried out.

For a considerable time this group had already been under suspicious surveillance. In 1554 the Jesuits at the instigation of Francisco de Borgia, their general commissioner for Spain and India, had arranged a meeting in Seville at which provisions were to be made for combating the dangerous doctrines of the "two poisonous serpents," Constantino and Egidio. The discovery of the smuggled books, which Julian Hernandez, a deacon of the Walloon church in Frankfort on the Main, had brought to Seville in 1557, proved disastrous for the Protestants. Along with Hernandez, who had been captured in his flight from the Inquisition, a large number of members of all classes were arrested in 1557-58 on suspicion of being adherents of the "Lutheran heresy," among them Juan Ponce de Leon. Even monks and nuns were among the 100 persons who in the course of time were imprisoned in the castle of Triano. Among them was also Constantino, who had attempted to escape the threatening danger by joining the Jesuit order. But because the Inquisition objected he was not accepted. After his hidden manuscripts had been discovered, he could no longer cover up. He succumbed to the heat of the cell in which he was incarcerated. In 1560 his remains along with those of Egidio were burned in an auto-da-fé. One of the forms of punishment the Inquisition employed was to burn in effigy, that is, as more or less recognizable strawmen, those on whom it could not lay its hands. This fate befell the onetime leader of the public educational institute of Seville, Juan Pérez de Pineda, who had emigrated to Geneva in the fifties and had there become the pastor of a developing congregation of Spanish refugees. In 1559 he had published a translation of Sleidanus' two addresses to the emperor and the empire, including a foreword addressed to Philip, in which he wrote that if the emperor continued in his present manner, he would be king of ashes and sanbenitos (condemned sinners' garments). He also published a revision of Urbanus Rhegius' Old and New Doctrine in 1560 as well as a letter of comfort to the Spanish fellow believers.

A second hotbed of "heresy" in Spain was the then capital of the kingdom, Valladolid, where the general council of the Inquisition held its sessions. Here the Veronese Carlos de Seso, whose wife was a relative of the emperor, had started the movement. He considered himself a disciple of the Spaniard Juan de Valdés, who had escaped the Inquisition in 1531 by fleeing to Italy. He finally found refuge in Naples, where he by his piety, which was influenced by mystic as well as Erasmian elements, gained influence over his surroundings. When Carlos de Seso came to Valladolid, presumably soon after 1550, he brought along de Valdés' Spanish Concideraçiones as well as Protestant books by other authors. After he had begun to feel at home, he carefully began to seek adherents for his faith. He succeeded in gaining several friends and like-minded souls in the de Cazalla family, among them the court chaplain who had come to Valladolid at the beginning of 1557 and had accompanied the emperor to Germany.

In 1558 the Inquisition stepped in, and on May 21, 1559, a Protestant auto-da-fé took place in Valladolid in the presence of the regent queen and Prince Carlos. The court chaplain de Cazalla did not present a pleasant picture with his fear-dictated repentance, but it did bring him a reduction of his sentence, namely to be garroted before he was burned. A brother and a sister shared his fate. Another brother and a second sister were sentenced to prison. Even the exhumed remains of the mother of these five brothers and sisters were burned. Their house was torn down and a monu-



View of Rome. Detail from a woodcut of Sebastian Münster's Cosmographiae universalis, Vol. VI. Basel, 1550 (Leipzig, University Library)

ment of shame bearing an inscription still to be seen in the 19th century was erected in its place. Along with the de Cazallas the attorney Herezuelo was led to the place of execution. De Cazalla had still tried to convert him on the way. As Herezuelo was led past his young wife, who through her inconstancy had succeeded in having her sentence commuted to imprisonment, he angrily turned away from her. This may have prompted her to retract her denial by a public confession nine years later and to assume the consequences of this decision. She was at once returned to the prison of the Inquisition as a renegade, where she declared that she did not wish to damn her soul but wanted to die for Jesus Christ, knowing that through Him she had received forgiveness of her sins. On Sept. 28, 1568, she died the same excruciating death as her husband.

As small as this group was, voices were heard to the effect that "all of Spain had been in danger of perishing" (Gonzalo de Illescas, *Historia Pontifical*, 1565, II, 678).

In Seville and Valladolid the most substantial Protestant groups in Spain were to be found. But there were also Bible groups in other places, for instance, in Almarza, Logroño, Murcia, Palencia, Pedroso, Toro, Valencia, Villamediana, and Zamora. In August 1559 even Bartolomé de Carranza, the archbishop of Toledo, was arrested and after a 17-year imprisonment was sentenced as extremely suspect to abjure Lutheran and other errors.

On the whole, it must be established that through the burning of "heretics" in the fifties the Protestant movement in Spain was completely crushed. The number of executions is generally overstated. Then, too, not only Protestants were burned at the stake. Altogether some 350 Spaniards may have perished in the flames in the second half of the 16th century because of their Protestant faith.

Whatever else is to be found in the records of the Inquisition concerning "Lutherans" refers to foreigners – French, German, Dutch, and English, who as merchants and seamen visited Spain and fell into the hands of the Inquisition. They have no connection with a national Protestant movement.

The fugitive Isidor monks attempted to support the Protestant faith in the homeland from abroad. A Spanish New Testament was produced by them. In 1568/1569 the first Spanish translation of the entire Bible, which Cassiodoro de Reina had made from the original text with the aid of other translations, was published in Basel. This edition of 2600 copies apparently supplied the need.

A second Protestant Bible in Reformation times was produced by Cipriano de Valera. It appeared in Antwerp in 1602. Cipriano also published Calvin's *Institutio* in Spanish. To this translation Baruch Spinoza later credited his acquaintance with Protestant thought.

In the second half of the 19th century, Luis de Uzos y Rios secretly published the Spanish Reformation writings. This work comprises 20 volumes, and is a demonstration of the spiritual influence the Protestant movement exercised in spite of all repressive measures.

In Portugal the Reformation did not get underway despite the books smuggled in. The Inquisition founded in 1536 kept a watchful eye even on foreigners, and the Jesuits, who were in the country since 1540, smothered every indication of Protestant life.

All this is not strange if we consider the peculiar situation of Spain as described at the outset. Through it this country was predestined to be the source of the Counter-Reformation, which was naturally most effective in the land of its origin. Indeed, not only Protestant historians will be compelled to establish that the Counter-Reformation hardly served the good of Spain.

For one thing, the cooperation between the Inquisition and the secular power served only to strengthen state churchism under the Habsburgs, which threatened to deprive the church of its independence. Secondly, with the Protestant faith all endeavors toward the achievement of freedom and spiritual independence were completely rooted out, so that the backwardness of Spain brought to this land a sorry reputation for centuries. Finally, the political decline of Spain, which in the 16th century had been the leading power in the church as well as in political life, was sealed by the rebellion of the Netherlands and the defeat of the Armada, religious causes being involved in both. It was replaced by the rising power of France and of England, of which the former came under non-Christian influence in the tide of the Enlightenment, while the latter was dominated by Protestantism.

JEAN DE PABLO



Newe Zeittung.

Kurtzer Bericht: was

fich für ein kleglich Schawspiel / verflossens Ein und zwenzigsten tags Man/ dieses Lix. Ihares/ mit etlichen fromen Christen in Hispanien zu Valladolid zugetragen.

Darinnen/Bieniel ond was für Personen umb des Lutherischen und Christlichen glaubens willen/durch die Bebstiche Inquisition daselbstrum teil verbrent / zum teil mit sonst andern straffen semmerlichen gepeiniget worden/mit warem grund erzelt und angezeiget wirdt.

Matthet 5.

Celig find die vmb gerechtigkeit willen verfolget werden / Denn das Himelreich ist je ze.





Miguel Serveto. Spanish theologian and the most eminent antitrinitarian of the 16th century. In his principal work, Restitutio Christianismi – an antithesis to Calvin's Institutio – he pleaded for the restoration of original Christianity by

getting rid of the doctrine of the Trinity. For this he was burned alive in Geneva in 1553. Engraving by C. Fritsch, 17th century (Berlin, De Pablo Collection)

EL NVEVO TESTAMENTO,

QVE ES, LOS ESCRIPTOS

Euangelicos, y Apostolicos.

El Sancto Euangelio de nuestro Señor Iesu Christo segun S. Mattheo.

CAPIT. L El linagery decendencia de Christo de los Padres Jegun la carne. 11. Su concepcion por el Espivitu sancto, y su nacimiento de vna Virgen conforme à la prophecia deel.

LNC. 3,24. 2 Decendiente de Dauidy de Abraha fegun la carne.como parece por el cathalogo dela genealogia

IBRO *delageneracion de lesu Christo 2 hijo de Dauid, hijo de Abraham.

2 * Abrahá engendró à Isaac. Y * Isaac engendró à Iacob. Y * Iacob engedró à Iudas,

*Gen. 21,2, y à sus hermanos.

*Gč.25,24. 3 Y * Iudas engendró de Thamar à Pha-*Ge. 29,35. res y à Zaram. Y Phares engedró à Esrom.

*Ge,38, 27. Y Efrom engendro à Aram.

yt. Chron. 4 Y Aram engedró à Aminadab. Y Aminadab engendró à Naason. Y Naason en-Ruih 4, 18. gendró à Salmon.

Y Salmon engendró de Raab à Booz. Y Booz engendró de Ruth à Obed. Y Obed engendro à Iesse.

*1,54 16,1. 6 Y *Iesse engendró àl rey Dauid.*Y el rev Dauid engendró à Salomon de la que *2. Sam. 12, fue muger de Vrias.

Y * Salomon engendró à Roboam. Y *1.Rey.11, Roboam engendró à Abia. Y Abia engen-

ya. Chro.3, dró à Afa.

8 Y Ala engendró à Iosaphat. Y Iosaphat *1, Rey. 20. engedró à Ioran. Y Iora engedró à Ozias. 21. y 21,18. 9 Y Ozias engendró à Ioatha. Y Ioatha yı. Chro, 3, engendró à Achaz. Y Achaz engendró à Ezechias.

*2. Rey. 23, 10 Y * Ezechias engendró à Manasse. Y Manasse engendró à Amo. Y Amon engen y 2, Chr. 36, dró à Iosias.

II Y * Iosias engendró [à Ioacim. Y Ioa-72 Rey. 24, cim engendsó Jalechonias, y à sus hermanos en la tranimigració de Babylonia.

*2.Chr.37, 12 Y despues de la transmigracion de Babylonia * lechonias engendró à Salathiel. y1,Ch.3,16. Y Salathiel engendró à Zorobabel.

13 Y Zorobabel engendró à Abiud. Y Abiud engendró à Eliacim. Y Eliacim engendró à Azor.

Y Azor engendró à Sadoc. Y Sadoc engendró à Achin. Y Achin engendró à Eliud.

15 Y Eliud engendró à Eleazar. Y Eleazar engendró à Mathan. Y Mathan engendró

16 Y Iacob engendró à loseph marido de EIMes Maria, de la qual naciób I E s v s, el quales sias.

llamado, el c C H R I S T O.

17 Demanera que todas las generacio- Electo. nes desde Abraham hasta Dauid, son catorze generaciones. Y desde Dauid hasta la *Luc. 1,27. transmigracion de Babylonia, catorze generaciones. Y desde la transmigracion de tede &c. Babylonia hasta el Christo, catorze gene- e No hagas raciones.

18 T*Y el nacimiento de 1Esvs el Chris- de &c. to fue ansi: Que siédo Maria su madre des- f Ot. de toposada con Ioseph, antes q se juntassen, sue mar à &c. hallada estar preñada del Espiritu Sacto. portu mu-19 Y Iofephfu marido, como era justo, * y & Luc. 1 38. no la quisiesse infamar, quisola dexar se- g Saluador,

cretamente. 20 Y pensando el esto, heaqui que el An- *Ast. 4.11. gel del Señor le apparece en sueños, dizié- h G. suc hegel del Señor le apparece en lucitos, dizie do, Ioseph d hijo de Dauid, e no temas de *1/a.7,14. recebir à Maria tu Muger : porque lo que Entretanen ella es engedrado, del Espiritu Sacto es. to festuno

21 Y parira hijo, * y llamaras su nombre prenada de BIESVS: porque * el faluará su Pueblo &c.nipor de sus peccados.

22 Todo esto haconteció paraque se cu- gue de apliesse lo que fue dicho por el Señor por el qui que des Propheta que dixo,

* Heaqui que 2014 Virgen ferá preña- porá no se da, y parirá hijo, y llamarás fu nombre Em- pretende manuel, que es, si lo declares, Con noso- aqui protros Dios.

Y despertado Ioseph del sueño, hizo to sue co. como el Angel del Señor le auia mandado, cebido fin y recibió à su muger.

25 Y no la conoció i hasta que parió à su ron. demas hijo Primogenito y llamó su nobre 125vs. A es phrasi

JAPIT. IL Os Magos enseña los de Dios vienen delas partes por jamas. L'del Oriente en busca de Christo a terusale, dode 112.22,14.

b Aba. v. 21.

difficultad

par mas fi-

bbra de va -

E/d 3, 2,

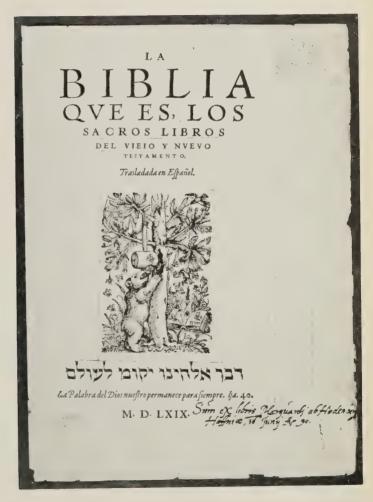
35,20



Left: First page of the New Testament in the translation by Casiodoro de Reina, Basel, 1568/1569 (Berlin, De Pablo Collection)

Above: Ignatius Loyola (1491?-1556). Painting by Alonso Sánchez Coello, court painter of Philip II, 1585 (Formerly Madrid, Prado)

Below: Title page of the first edition of the Bible translation by Casiodoro de Reina, Basel, 1568/1569 (Berlin, De Pablo Collection)



The Escorial, summer and autumn residence of the Spanish kings. Founded by Philip II of Spain. Engraving after a woodcut from the 16th century (Berlin, De Pablo Collection)



/ ITALY

The immorality of the Renaissance papacy and of the clergy, especially of the higher prelates, was not so great an offense to the Italian people as to cause it to revolt against the Roman Church, as did other European nations. Italians had for a long time become accustomed to distinguishing between the time-honored institutions of the church and her dishonorable representatives. This not too edifying spectacle temporarily favored the religious indifference of the masses as well as of the educated strata or aroused in them the desire for a Catholic reformation of the church but not a reformation of the Catholic Church such as came about in many European countries of that time. Initially humanism was able to create the impression to some that it was seeking to effect a renovation of the church. In its enlightened school of thought, which men like the philosopher Pomponazzi of Padua (d. 1525) espoused, it would have been able to cause the decayed ecclesiastical institutions to crumble. But Christian humanism could have furnished living ferment for a profounder faith life by its mystic-Platonic and Augustinian tendencies. Christian humanism, however, made a much greater contribution toward the renovation of Catholicism than toward the spread of the Reformation in Italy, although Italian Protestantism quite frequently contained typically humanistic elements. Thus conditions in Italy did not hinder a reform movement, though they likewise did not by any means favor it.

The message of the Reformation entered into

Italy in various ways. On the one hand, trade between Northern Italy and Upper Germany was very brisk, and from 1519 onward the writings of the Reformation began to circulate on the peninsula in Italian translations, at times published pseudonymously. Secondly, numerous foreign students attended Italian universities and frequently contributed much to spread the teachings of the Reformation. Furthermore, Calvinistic views were brought in by Piedmont Waldensians, Huguenot refugees, and even foreign troops. Finally Waldensian pietism came to Naples from Spain and became especially fruitful in Italy, as we shall see. The protests against Rome, which were heard independently of each other in various regions of Italy and at various times, had no common basis. In fact, various significant differences appeared that cannot be accounted for on the basis of Lutheran or Calvinistic influences alone. Thus men of the Catholic movement for renewal, like Cardinal Contarini, Morone, Pole, and Sadoleto, did not desire in any way to cause a schism. Others, like Pietro Martire Vermigli, Girolamo Zanchi, Pietro Paolo Vergerio, and Matthias Flacius, were determined adherents and propagators of the Lutheran or the Calvinistic Reformation. Still others, among them Lelio and Fausto Sozzini, Matteo Gribaldi, Giorgio Blandrata, and, near the end of his life, Bernardino Ochino, espoused the concern of a religious humanism in various shadings. They considered Servetus rather than Calvin their teacher and therefore wound up in

antitrinitarianism. After Rome as well as Geneva had expelled them, they sought refuge and adherents for their movement in Poland and Transylvania. There they also succeeded in founding Unitarian churches. One distinct group were the Waldensians, who affiliated with the Swiss Reformation, and the Anabaptists, who had numerous congregations in Venice. The latter, together with their Swiss brethren in the faith, held an important synod in Venice in 1550. Also among them antitrinitarianism spread. In the first half of the 16th century there were principally four regions of importance for the spread of the Reformation in Italy - the Venetian Republic, Naples, three cities between Central and Northern Italy: Lucca, Modena, and Ferrara, and Piedmont with the Waldensians.

In Venice the writings of Luther were published at an early date, those of Melanchthon and Calvin somewhat later. But the region remained mostly under the influence of the Lutheran Reformation. That was brought about by the fact that pertinent literature, which was printed in the second half of that century in Southern Germany, for example, in the Ungnad Bible Institute in Urach, managed to get from there to the eastern regions of the Venetian Republic, Istria and Dalmatia. In Venice, as in other Italian states, there were numerous Catholic monks who were quite responsive to the Protestant message. Among them were the first martyrs, such as the Franciscans Girolamo Galateo (d. in prison, 1541) and Bartolomeo Fonzio (d. 1562). Others, to be sure, like Francesco Spiera (d. 1548) and Antonio Brucioli (d. 1566), denied the Protestant faith out of fear. Brucioli hailed from Florence. He had translated the Bible into Italian and had written several commentaries to the Holy Scriptures. From Venice the Reformation movement had spread over the entire area of the Venetian Republic. It extended to Bergamo on the west, where the Augustinian Girolamo Zanchi was won for the Protestant cause. The best known among these converts is Bishop Pietro Paolo Vergerio of Capodistria (d. 1564), who in 1535 had been sent to Germany by Pope Paul II to invite the German princes to the Council at Mantua. He had become acquainted with Martin Luther in

CHISMO PIOCE

Luthero, verso dal Latino in lungua Italiana, per gli fanciugli.

MATHE. 19.

Lasciate i fanciugliet non pro= hibite che uenghino à me, perche di tali è il regno de cieli.

TVBINGA
ANNO 1562.

"Small Catechism of Martin Luther" in Italian. Tübingen, 1562 (Wolfenbüttel, Duke August Library)



Matthias Flacius Illyricus (1520–1575). Copper engraving by Balthasar Jenichen, 1565 (Coburg, Fortress Art Collection)

Wittenberg and later made the attempt, like his brother Giovanni, the bishop of Pola, to introduce the Reformation in his diocese. Since their endeavors were not successful, Pietro Paolo Vergerio was compelled to flee abroad after the death of his brother. After he had served a few years in Italian Switzerland, particularly in Poschiavo and Vicosoprano, he accepted the invitation of Duke Christoph of Württemberg to Tübingen, where he developed an intensive publicity activity in the interest of the Reformation. Another Istrian, Matthias Flacius, whose uncle, Fra Baldo Lupetino of Albona, suffered a martyr's death because of his faith, also became a diligent disciple of Luther. As a Lutheran theologian, Flacius labored exclusively in Germany and is therefore identified with the German Reformation.

In 1532 the Spaniard Juan de Valdés (d. 1541) came to Naples. His mystic-Erasmian piety to some extent contained Lutheran elements. A circle of noble men and women who belonged to the Neapolitan and Spanish nobility gathered about him to learn his doctrine, with varying intensity, to be sure. Among these were personalities such as Giulia Gonzaga, Isabella Brisena, Galeazzo Caracciolo, the humanist Marc' Antonio Flaminio, the Augustinian Pietro Martire Vermigli, as well as the Capuchin General Bernardino Ochino, a preacher famous throughout Italy. Valdés' goal was a renewal of the inner man. Beyond this, however, we also find in his writings sundry polemics against abuses within the Catholic Church. After the death of Valdés, several of his followers gathered in Viterbo (Latium) around Cardinal Pole and Marc' Antonio Flaminio, Vittoria Colonna and the Tuscan Pietro Carnesecchi, who for a long time was in contact with Giulia Gonzaga and the Waldensians in Naples, also belonged to this group.

The finest work of the Waldensian movement and possibly of the entire Italian Reformation in general is the booklet *Trattatio utilissimo del beneficio di Giesu Christo crocifisso verso i christiani* ("Concerning the Kindness of Jesus Christ"), which appeared in Venice in 1543, a work of the Benedictine Benedetto of Mantua, whose position was strongly influenced by Valdés but also by Calvin,

as his numerous quotations from the *Institutio* Christiana, the chief dogmatic work of Calvin, show.

In Sicily the Protestant doctrine met with a stronger response than was formerly supposed. The most recent research has cast a new light on this matter. In Palermo, Messina, Syracuse, and other cities, small Protestant churches were formed. The views of the Reformation at first found their way into the middle class and the nobility. Numerous preachers, theologians, and school teachers were charged with heresy. Relations were established between Sicilians and the Waldensian circle in Naples. At mid-century also the workers and the lower strata of the populace were reached by the Calvinistic or Lutheran reform movement. Between Central and Northern Italy, the small republic of Lucca and the duchy of Ferrara, to which also the city of Modena belonged, formed an important zone for the spread of the Reformation. Academies, universities, and bookstores prepared the way for the new doctrine in these areas, as they also did elsewhere in Italy. Protestant literature, the preaching of Bernardino Ochino and Vermigli, the lectures of theologians and humanists like the aforementioned Vermigli, G. Zanchi, Celio Secondo Curione of Piedmont, and Aonio Paleario, the frequent contacts with foreign Protestants, especially with Huguenots and with Calvin himself, favored the spread of the Protestant faith in those areas.

The reform movement in the Republic of Lucca, in which the Protestant efforts were fused with the antipathy of the people toward the House of Medici and toward Spain, had a character of its own. For a time the people seemed to be moved by the message of the Reformation, but severe suppressive measures and persecutions were not long in coming and destroyed what had sprouted, just as it did in all other Italian cities. In 1541 Vermigli came to Lucca and began to promote studies in the monastery of San Frediano. Zanchi, Curione, Celso Martinenghi of Brescia, and other teachers worked with him in the training of new Protestant preachers and at the same time instructed prominent citizens in the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. A few years later the evangelically inclined humanist Aonio Paleario of Veroli in Latium joined them. The bishop of Modena, Cardinal Morone, strove for an evangelical renewal of the Roman Church. He read and disseminated the book "Concerning the Kindness of Jesus" as a devotional book. As a result, under Paul IV he was suspected of heresy and imprisoned for some time in the Engelsburg. He was by no means the right man to suppress the Protestant movement in his diocese. At the same time the book dealer Antonio Gadaldino disseminated the booklet "Concerning the Kindness of Jesus," which he published in a new edition. In Modena there appeared for the first time the Reformation booklet: El Sommario de la Sancta Scriptura ("Summary of the Holy Scriptures"), which nowadays is ascribed to Aconcio of Trent. Those who were evangelically minded formed the so-called circle Albergo dei letterati ("Inn of the Learned"), to which also the writer Ludovico Castelvetro (d. 1571) belonged who kept an entire library of Reformation writings concealed in his home. He was subjected to trial as a heretic, but was able to flee to Chiavenna in Switzerland. Among other things he translated several works of Melanchthon into the Italian language.

In Ferrara, Renata of France, spouse of Duke Ercole d'Este, supported the spread of the Reformation, especially after the visit of Calvin in 1536, with whom she corresponded frequently from that time. Many Huguenots sought sanctuary with her, at least as long as the duke permitted it. The university was quite open to the new doctrine, and many of the foreign students were adherents of the reformers. In 1537 Ochino preached, and in 1539 Curione sojourned for two months, in Ferrara. The latter gained the humanist Fulvio Pellegrini Morato for the Protestant faith. Morato's daughter Olimpia became a well-known humanist. She married a German physician and died at an early age in Heidelberg.

A gate of entry into Piedmont and Italy for Calvinism were the Waldensian churches in the Cottian Alps, which were in close contact with the Waldensians in the Dauphiné, in Provence, and in Calabria.

They represented a remnant of the Waldensian



Pope Clement VII (1478–1534), previously Giulio de'Medici. Copper engraving by Daniel Hopfer (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)

The burning of Savonarola in the market place of Florence, May 23, 1498. Painting by Fra Bartolommeo (Florence, San Marco Museum)







Above: Cardinal Gasparo Contarini (1483–1542). Engraving from P. Giovo, *Vitae illustrium virorum*. Basel 1576–1578 (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)

Below: Savonarola holding a crucifix. Obverse of a coin (Photo: Wittenberg, Archives of the Luther Museum)





IACOBVS SADOLETVS, CARDINALIS.
'Ut Plato facunda decoravit dogmata lingua.

De priscæ Sophiæ dogmata fumrta fimi:
Eloquij fic tu decorasti flumine blando,'
De facro CHRISTI dogmata funta fimu.

1547.

Bened Árias Montanus;

Above: Presumably a portrait of Giulia Gonzaga (1533–1566). Painting by Sebastiano del Piombo (Naples, National Museum)

Below: Cardinal Jacopo Sadoleto (1477–1547). Contemporary engraving, 1547 (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)

TRATTA TO VTILIS SIMO del beneficio di Giesu Christo croccisiso, uerso i



IN TVBINGA,
M. D. LXV.

Above: Cardinal Reginald Pole (1500–1558). Contemporary painting (London, National Portrait Gallery)

Below: "Most Useful Treatise Concerning the Benefaction of Jesus Christ, the Crucified." Printed in Tübingen, 1565. Title page, showing Christ on the cross, with Mary and John. Appeared first in Venice, 1543 (Ljubljana, University Library)

The Great Tournament in the Damasus Court of the Vatican. In the background St. Peter's Church being built. Engraving by Jacob Bink (Wittenberg, Luther Museum)



movement of the Middle Ages which at one time had spread over large portions of Europe, from Sicily into the Mark of Brandenburg, into Pomerania, Bohemia, and Poland. The Waldensians based their protest against the secularization of the Roman Church primarily on the Sermon on the Mount. They observed the evangelical counsels in order to lead a perfect life similar to that of the apostles. The only absolute authority for them was the Word of God, which their itinerant preachers proclaimed everywhere in the language of the country. In the 15th century they frequently had connections with the Taborites and later with the Bohemian Brethren. On account of their strict Biblicism, the Waldensians were regarded as precursors of the Reformation, although in their way of life they had retained typically monastic traits and their theology was essentially Catholic. Hence free will, workrighteousness, and elements of the doctrine of transubstantiation were found among them.

In the third decade of the 16th century, the Waldensians had various contacts with reformers, especially with Farel, Oecolampadius, and Bucer in 1530. These men attempted to gain them for the Reformation. In 1532 the Waldensians held a general synod in Chanforan in the valley of Angrogna in the Cottian Alps, in which they resolved to join the Reformation. They renounced celibacy, apostolic poverty, the rejection of governmental authority as well as of oaths, and doctrines which they held in common with the Catholic Church. Gradually they replaced their itinerant preachers with better-trained pastors, and from 1555 onward built a number of churches for public worship in defiance of the prohibition of the Catholic Church. They commissioned Pastor Robert Olivetanus, a cousin of Calvin, to translate the Bible into French. This translation was able to make its appearance as early as 1535 in Neuenburg. From that time on the Waldensian movement developed into a Reformed church, which in the course of the 16th century adopted an Italian revision of the French Confessio Gallicana (1559) as its confession of faith.

The doctrines of the Reformation spread rapidly in the plain of Piedmont, especially during the years of French rule between 1536 and 1559. To be sure, Francis I of France was no less intolerant than Charles III of Savoy, but the French governors and the foreign mercenaries frequently sided with Protestantism and promoted the spread of the Reformation to the best of their ability, like Gauchier Farel, a brother of the reformer of the same name, during his activity as governor in the Waldensian valleys. The situation changed when Piedmont was restored to the House of Savoy on the basis of the peace treaty of Chateau-Cambresis (1559) and of the obligation assumed by Emmanuel Philibert to exterminate the "heretics" in his domain.

After the reorganization of the Roman Inquisition by Paul III, the persecutions, especially under Popes Paul IV, Pius V, and Gregory XIII, crushed Italian Protestantism completely within the space of a few decades. Likewise the prospering Reformed congregations in the Piedmont plain were completely annihilated. Only the Waldensians in the Alpine valleys held their own and in 1561 concluded the peace of Cavour with Emmanuel Philibert. The most cruel persecutions, however, were not visited upon them until the second half of the 17th century. They continued to maintain relationships with the Protestant states, especially the Swiss cantons, which always came to their rescue in time of need and for three centuries also trained their pastors and teachers in the academies of Geneva, Lausanne, and Basel.

In Southern Italy, where the Spanish Inquisition was raging, the three Waldensian churches La Guardia, San Sisto, and Montalto were completely destroyed in a bloody massacre in 1561, after their pastor, Giovanni Luigi Paschale, had died at the stake in Rome. Some of the Waldensians in Apulia (Puglia) fled into safer areas, others submitted to the Roman Church. Pius V employed stern measures against the "heretics" and hurled threats against those who hindered the activity of the Inquisition, as even bishops in Sicily and other parts of Italy attempted to do. The best-known martyrs under Pius V were Pietro Carnesecchi (1567) and the humanist Aonio Paleario (1570); both died at the stake in Rome. The Reformation message initially pushed forward chiefly into a few humanistic and aristocratic circles, but in the second half of the century it also reached the craftsmen, small business men, and the lower strata of the populace, whose representatives frequently displayed great courage in the persecutions.

Under the terrific pressure of the Inquisition, the number of refugees fleeing because of their faith constantly increased. Piedmont and Tuscany, as well as other Italian states, thereby lost their elite with their industry and the special gifts that were now destined to enrich foreign cities. The Protestant Italians scattered through many areas of Europe but went chiefly to Switzerland, which was close to their homeland and very hospitable toward them. Geneva received the largest colony of Italian refugees, some 60 families. These came largely from Piedmont and the Republic of Lucca, but also from Naples, like Margrave Galeazzo Caracciolo, a loyal adherent of Calvin, and from other areas. A considerable number of the exiles in Italian Switzerland contributed to the spread of the Reformation in their localities. Others chose the various Reformed cantons of German Switzerland or cities of Northern Europe for their new home. Thus a congregation of Italian exiles settled in London. Some found no suitable place at all to eke out an existence. Of the latter Bernardino Ochino is a typical example. He had come to Geneva in 1542 and had gathered about himself the first congregation of Italian refugees, but soon thereafter moved to Basel and then to Strasbourg, where he met Vermigli. Under Edward VI he served as a preacher in London and several years later became the pastor of the Italian exiles in Zurich. Because of his antitrinitarian leanings he was expelled from the city, so that at the age of 76 he was compelled to move to Poland in the wintertime. But Poland likewise would not have him because of his "heretical" intentions, hence he continued on to Austerlitz, where he died presently (1565) in a pestilence.

Pietro Martire Vermigli spent his last years in Zurich, after he had taught his moderate Reformed theology jointly with Zanchi in Strasbourg and later in Oxford. In 1561, one year before his death, he participated with Theodore Beza in the conversation at Possy. Celio Secondo Curione, during his exile, served as professor at the University of Basel (1544–1569), where he authored several books, such as De amplitudine beati regni Dei ("Concerning the Extent of the Blessed Kingdom of God"), which manifest a certain humanistic tolerance. Also this city of his choice was tolerant toward refugees from every nation and of every intellectual trend.

It would lead us too far afield to follow up on all these Italian exiles. They are found everywhere, also in the remotest regions of Poland and Transylvania.

VALDO VINAY

Intimations of Ecumenicity

JERUSALEM, CONSTANTINOPLE, MOSCOW

The history of the Reformation and the post-Reformation period must not be sought exclusively in the clash with the papacy and the medieval church of the West. There is also an encounter between the Reformation figures and forces and the churches of the East. The ecumenical outlook of recent centuries as well as concern for the history of ecumenical encounter was required to fit together the individual lines of Protestant-Orthodox contact into a clearer picture than was available heretofore.

This does not call for the application of standards unrelated to the events that happened at the encounter between the Reformation churches and the Orthodox churches in the age of the Reformation. There are standards that apply to the very encounter of the two churches. In addition to an obvious topical and historic self-consciousness we must here include as a necessary prerequisite the eschatological understanding of the Reformation as well as the crisis of Orthodoxy especially on Greek soil, which successively claim attention. In the concepts "encounter" (Begegnung) and "clash" (Auseinandersetzung) a twofold truth is expressed. There have been contacts of a positive kind, but there has also been the hostile confrontation. Thus there have been encounters and clashes of Protestant and Orthodox Christians in daily, living association with one another as well as an encounter and debate that was more academic and literary in nature beyond the limits of space. The contact of the churches of the Reformation with

the churches of Orthodoxy, formally speaking, embraces a wide compass. It contains a wide range of possibilities for interconfessional and ecumenical contacts, including even the earnest question whether the others are really Christian at all. It is not possible to aim at an adequate presentation in a few pages. Every encounter of individual Orthodox and Protestant Christians, nameless people as far as we are concerned, that has occurred anywhere and in any manner would belong to a complete picture.

One more preliminary remark is necessary. The Reformation of the century to be surveyed must not be limited to the impress of Wittenberg, Upper Germany, or Geneva. It includes also those manifestations which are described as being "the left wing of the Reformation," that is, the Reformation in the fullness of its manifestations must include also the spiritualistic and Anabaptist groups. It also includes the Bohemian Brethren, who, already a century earlier, had the first transitory contacts with Byzantium and who, in the period to be treated, finally came under the influence of the church of the Reformation. The Reformation, then, also embraces the Protestant movements and ecclesiastical structures of the peoples of eastern Europe and the Balkans, too often and too long overlooked by German Protestantism.

There is no history of the encounter of the Reformation with Orthodoxy as a succession of events that cohere of themselves and are causally connected on all sides. The places of the encounter

are too widely separated from each other; the persons taking part on the one side as well as on the other side often have only passing relation to one another; the individual encounters occasionally have a discernible purpose but are often also determined by chance. The associations, moreover, are not always absolutely of a purely "ecclesiastical" nature. The history of the Reformation itself proliferates into a fullness of political, social, and cultural facts, and the same can be said of the encounter of the churches of the Reformation with the Christianity of the East. The interest of the men of the Reformation and their successors in western Europe in the church of the East is in many instances connected with the realm of thought characteristic of the humanists, their love of the old Greek world, and their cultivation of the Greek language. In this way theological and humanistic interests found a way of fertilizing each other.

Already in the year 1519 the church of the East, in a decisive hour, came to the attention of the Reformation. This happened in the course of Luther's debate with Johann Eck at Leipzig. The existence of Christians and churches in Greece, Africa, and Asia became a weighty argument for Luther against the pope's claim to the primacy and against the divine sanction of ecclesiastical law, especially since these churches had never required a confirmation of their bishops, their orders, and their direction from the pope at Rome. In the first clashes of the Reformation with the papal church, the mere existence of the eastern Orthodox churches becomes a sanction for ecclesiastical criticism and efforts at reform. The importance of this approach has also been understood within Orthodoxy. A Russian correspondent, Franz von Baader, who in the last century wrote about Russian Orthodoxy's mission to western Europe, says in reference to this that this mention of the Orthodox churches by Luther was the strongest position he took up in the debate at Leipzig (Baader, Werke, X, 211).

In the following period, too, the reformers did not give up the idea of proving the validity of their own course by reference to the existence and course of the Orthodox churches. In Luther's confession On the Supper of Christ (1528) he finds the existence of Christians under "pope, Turks, Persians, and Tartars" a renewed confirmation of his concept of the church, that the one holy, Christian church is the congregation of Christians in all the world and that it gains its character not through the pope and canon law but through the Gospel itself (WA 26, 506, 38). Later, too, Luther does not lose sight of Orthodoxy, as, for example, in his writing On the Councils and Churches (1539). But here words of criticism attach themselves to the positive statements that previously stood in the foreground. Like the church of Rome, the church of Constantinople falls under the verdict of decay. Both churches have "quarreled about the idle primacy with absolutely rotten, lame, and useless twaddle until the devil has finally gobbled up both of them" (WA 50, 578-579). Appreciation for the reality of the existence of the Eastern Church joins the stereotyped picture of her freedom from Rome. Hereby the total picture becomes more somber but at the same time more realistic.

In the second half of the century the theologians of the Reformation churches increasingly follow this critical viewpoint. One of these was Stephan Gerlach, for a time ambassadorial preacher in Constantinople. The church of the East, he reports, has also received an admixture of superstition and errors. There is also no reason to suppose that the Christians of Constantinople will give these up, because they do not deviate from their fidelity to the fathers, who held exactly the same views. He was one of the few German theologians who was able to obtain concrete knowledge of the reality of Orthodox life and Eastern piety over and above travel encounters and observations on individual matters. His impressions confirm judgments made of old. "In short, they are papists almost at all points with the exception of the procession of the Holy Ghost, leavened bread, purgatory, and that the pope is not Christ's vicar." They take their stand "in simplicity and ignorance on good works" (Journal, p. 118).

But according to Gerlach's words, this judgement of the second and third generation of Protestant Christians is matched by the view of the Orthodox that is becoming more and more critical as it



In effigiem
Dn:D. Stephani Gerlachii, insignis quondam
Theologi et-Professoris Tubing:B.M.
Quid Gog guid Magog faciant, Hic vidit et audit,
Scripsit et in Charta, dixit et in Cathedra.
Et justquam occidiam Solem viditg, renatum,
Ecce! illum rursus Phoebus uterg, videt.

Ich Corradus Brothequius Philet Med D. et Prof. Tubing.

Stephan Gerlach, the emperor's ambassadorial preacher in Constantinople. Theologian and professor in Tübingen. Frontispiece in his book: "The Diary of Stephan Gerlach the Elder," Frankfort on the Main, 1674 (Marburg, University Library) Left: Title page of David Chyträus, "Report on the State of the Churches of Our Time in Greece, Asia Minor, Africa, Hungary, Bohemia, etc.," Wittenberg, 1580 (Leipzig, University Library)

Right: Title page of P. Oderborn, "The Life of John Basilides the Great, Duke of Moscow," Wittenberg, 1585 (Leipzig, University Library)

Dauidis Chytræi ORATIO DE STATV

ECCLESIAR VM HOC TEMPORE IN GRÆCIA, Asia, Africa, Vngaria, Boemia,&c.

cui .

Epistola aliquot Patriarcha Byzantini, aliorum ex Oriente recens scripta: aliad narrationes, lettu non indigna, nec iniucunda, accesserunt.



WYITTEBERGE

EXCYDEBAT IOANNES

LVFFT.

M. Q. LXXX.

BASILIDIS MAGNI MOSCOVIAE Ducis vita,

PAVILO ODERBORNIO

Otribus libris conference

Och. Sottlov. A DC COOCH IN U.

HENRICVM IVLIVM EPISCO.

pum Halberstadensem, Brunonisuicanorum

Eluneburgensium Ducem magnani
mum & illustrissimum.



MINIO M. D. LXXXV.



Castellanus Vilnen: Susvenius Exercionumi M. Duc: -itus Dux - 38s MDXXXIII. -

Above: Prince Constantine of Ostrog (1514-1608), voivode (governor) of Kiev. The most prominent and richest magnate in Volhynia. From 1590 on he supported his own academy in Ostrog. He opposed the Brest Union and supported the Confederation of Vilna (1599) (Berlin, State Museums)

Below: Title page of the Ostrog Bible of 1581 (Hanover, Lower Saxony State Library)





Title page of Salomon Schweigger's "Travelog..., the first to Constantinople and Jerusalem." The title page

shows views of Jerusalem (above) and of Constantinople (below) (Marburg, University Library)



Sketch of a patriarch. From Martin Crusius, Turcograecia, Basel, 1584 (Marburg, University Library)

considers the ecclesiasticism of the church of the Reformation: "They regard us as idle heretics who have nothing else to do but to pose idle questions. To be sure, they think everything has been decided in the assemblies of the fathers and there need be no further strife" (Journal p. 396). Gerlach's estimate of these Orthodox positions received a weighty confirmation. When the theologians of the faculty of Tübingen in the years 1573-1581 wrote several letters to the patriarch of Constantinople, the important Jeremias II, to set forth their positions and to procure understanding for the same, the patriarch finally cut off the correspondence. In doing this he issued words that determined Eastern-Protestant ecclesiastical relations for that century as well as for later times: "You describe our weapons as useless ... Go your way! Do not write to us anymore about dogmas but only for friendship's sake, if you wish it! Good-bye!"

This is a word of emphatic skepticism about further possibilities of such encounters. This breaking off of relations confronts the strong and living self-consciousness of youthful Reformation Christianity with the self-consciousness of a church that has not arisen only recently but, according to its opinion, goes back to apostolic times, that clings to the past and regards the preservation of this inheritance as its task. Humanistic theologians, filled with a love for sources, influenced by a veneration for Greek culture as far as they understood it, had to be told that it was not only individual dogmas and selected controversial issues that required discussion but that the whole understanding of history and church was a different one for the Orthodox. After some individuals in Orthodoxy had at first understood the rise of the Reformation as a challenge of Rome's position that they greeted with joy, the phenomenon was for the Orthodox world eventually only further proof of the restless spirit for innovations with which Orthodoxy had reproached the West since the days of the patriarch Photius.

The knowledge which they had of each other was manifold but not deep. It suffered on both sides from prejudices that were the inheritance of centuries. Proof of the interest of the Reformation in the world of the Greek East is to be seen in the work of Martin Crusius of Tübingen entitled Turcograecia ("Greek Turkey"), published at Basel in 1584, the lecture delivered by David Chyträus in Rostock, and finally Melanchthon's translation of the Augsburg Confession into Greek. The relations of individual persons can be regarded as testimonies of Orthodox interest in the events of the Reformation. Concerns of a cultural-reformed and political nature were often mingled with these. Thus the problem of the conquest of the Turkish power and effective resistance to further Turkish advance was at the back of these interests. Antonios Eparchos of Corcyra, belongs to these isolated individuals. In his contacts with Melanchthon in 1543 he was chiefly concerned with an ideological basis for the defense against the Turks. In 1560 there appeared in Wittenberg as a guest in Melanchthon's house a Serb bearing the Greek name Demetrios. He became a key figure in Protestant-Orthodox contacts between Wittenberg, Transylvania, Wallachia, the principality of Moldavia, and Constantinople. The Orthodox viewpoint of the Reformation was eventually given literary treatment in the travel report of Nykander Nukaios.

The encounter with the Orthodoxy of the people of the Balkans and of the eastern Slavs matches the contacts of the reformers with individual persons from the patriarchate of Constantinople. When the Reformation reached Livonia, the Anabaptist Melchior Hofman in 1525 called on the citizens of Dorpat to smash the images. The church of the Russians, dedicated to Saint Nicholas, was also implicated in this. This was one of the first real and at the same time hostile encounters. The Russians did not forget it. Livonian history writing, too, is for a long time occupied with the question of the consequences of this incident and similar events in the political sphere. A similar statement can be made for Swedish-Russian encounters, in which the different evaluation of icons led to tensions. On the occasion of a Swedish ambassadorial journey to Novgorod in 1557, for example, an icon was burnt by a Swede. Because of the disturbance that had been created in the Russian Church by the sect of Judaizers, reports



View of the patriarchate in Constantinople. From Martin Crusius, Turcograeciae, Basel, 1584 (Marburg, University Library)



Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. From Salomon Schweigger's "Travelog," 1664 (Marburg, University Library)

about iconoclastic measures could not but make the Reformation appear to the Russians like a renewal of the iconoclastic heresy of the eighth century. When Ivan IV set out with his armies for Livonia in the seventies of the 16th century, Russian-Orthodox self-consciousness together with messianic enthusiasm went with him into the land formerly belonging to the Order of Teutonic Knights. Here occurred that characteristic little incident in which the Lutheran pastor of Koknese approached the czar during his stay in the village and tried to explain to him the Reformation view of the doctrine of justification. The czar gave him a cut with his whip, the chronicler reports, and crying out, "Go to the devil with your Luther!" galloped away (Salomon Henning, Lifflendische Churlendische Chronika, Script. Rerum Livonicarum, II, 269).

More extensive and more important contacts between the Reformation and Orthodoxy are likewise linked with Ivan IV and his theological interests. Jan Rokyta, a preacher of the Bohemian Brethren resident in Poland, took part in a mission of Polish magnates to Russia in the role of ambassadorial preacher. The conversations which he had with the czar were put down in writing (P. Oderborn, Joannis Basilidis Magni Moscoviae Ducis Vita, Wittenberg, 1585). An important feature in the conduct of Rokyta is that he did not act on his own initiative but was sent out with instructions from his elders to render help by such encounter in preparing the way for the Gospel also in Russia. The discussion ended with strong words from the czar declaring that the Protestants actually lived like swine because they did not observe the fasts. It was also quite impossible, said he, to impart a knowledge of the ordinances on fasts to swine. In this period written polemics against Protestantism begins in Russian Orthodoxy (Cf. Ludolf Müller, Die Kritik des Protestantismus in der russischen Theologie vom 16.-18. Jahrbundert, Wiesbaden, 1951).

Political factors caught up with the basic negative attitude. Already in the last quarter of the 16th century, for example, German Lutherans founded their first congregation in Moscow. It is certain that little radiated from here into the Orthodox environment. And yet, with this first establishment

of a congregation in Russia a way was opened which made it possible for the confessions to get to know each other on the basis of personal encounter in place of an acquaintance from mere hearsay. At all events, it remained a significant fact that national differences also always coincided with differences of confession. The religious and the national factors strengthened each other and, in the event of political differences, also encumbered discussion between confessions.

The encounters between Reformation and Orthodox Christians were rich in results in Polish-Lithuanian territory. Its rich Reformation history includes the most intensive encounter between the Reformation and Orthodoxy. Significant in this was the juxtaposition of manifold religious, cultural, and political motives.

In this connection mention must be made of the General Confederation of Wilna. It originated in 1599 as an emergency coalition of Protestant and Orthodox representatives with the purpose of protecting themselves against the re-Catholicization of the Polish-Lithuanian state. Here, in place of many other names, those of the Protestant prince Radziwill and Constantine of Ostrog, the powerful Orthodox nobleman in the east of the empire, may be mentioned. With the latter name manifold religious, cultural, and political contacts of Reformation and Orthodox Christians that radiated all the way to the Moscow area are associated. With the work of Constantine of Ostrog we associate Cyrill Lukaris, a man whose activity was to have important results for Orthodoxy in the following century. The beginnings of his activity in Poland reach back into the last decade of the century. The confession of Cyrill Lukaris, taking up reformed elements, led to inner-Orthodox clashes and finally to the anti-Reformation positions of Peter Mogila, the metropolitan of Kiev from 1632, of the synod of Jassy in the year 1642, and of the patriarch of Jerusalem Dositheos in the year 1672.

The contacts of the Reformation with the Orthodox Christians of the Balkans are also important. It was not only from Transylvania that Reformation influences emanated. In the years 1561-1563, Jakobus Heraklides Despota made an attempt at a religious and political reformation on a Protestant basis in the Orthodox Rumanian principality of Moldavia. It failed. Still later came the efforts of the important Hans von Ungnad in the area of the Balkans and reaching out into the Ukraine. He had distinguished himself in the Habsburg lands in the battles against the Turks and had held high administrative posts. Then he settled in Württemberg. Together with southern Slavs he worked from here as a base and tried to make a home for the Protestant message in the Balkans by means of extensive enterprise in printed mission materials for the Reformation.

One must not regard the encounter of those who have been named and the many who remain unnamed as a unified, organized undertaking, whether in the German Empire, where this or that Greek, Serb, Pole, Lithuanian, or Russian happened to come, whether in the chief places of exchange between East and West like Venice, or whether in Wallachia, Moldavia, Transylvania, Constantinople, Poland-Lithuania, or Russia. In the absence of a central executive organization the Reformation and Orthodox churches were not in a position to cope with such an undertaking. The ecumenical encounter between the Reformation and Orthodoxy, in its beginnings, was always a matter of individuals or at most, a matter of a small circle. At the same time the Reformation, especially in its penetration into Slavic territory, was the active part of the encounter. A powerful Reformation self-consciousness often impossible for us today to imagine was the motor of those contacts and encounters, and these were not lacking in the following centuries, even if they did become rarer at first.

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